THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS
1892

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The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1942–1946

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VOLUME XXXV

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Transactions
1942-1946

Transactions of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

April Meeting, 1942

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., at the Tavern Club, No. 4 Boylston Place, Boston, on Thursday, April 23, 1942, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair. By invitation of the Council, members of the Massachusetts Historical Society attended the meeting.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the receipt of letters from Mr. CHARLES CORTEZ ABBOTT and Mr. ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN and Mr. GEORGE NORTON NORTHROP were elected Resident Members, and Mr. DANIEL JOSEPH BOORSTIN and Mr. GEORGE LAPIANA were elected Associate Members of the Society.

The President appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Dr. HAROLD BOWDITCH and Messrs. ROBERT E. PEABODY and ELLIOTT PERKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. ALLSTON BURR and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., and WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN and Dr. JAMES L. HUNTINGTON.

Dr. ERNEST CAULFIELD presented the following paper:

Some Common Diseases of Colonial Children

THIS paper concerns only seven of the two thousand diseases that were known to the physicians of Cotton Mather's time. These seven have been studied as a group because they were all common contagious diseases and therefore responsible for many, if not most, of the colonial epidemics. So far as children were concerned, two of these diseases, chicken pox and mumps, were relatively harmless; but another two, diphtheria and dysentery, outranked smallpox as a cause of death. I have not included smallpox because its history in America is already fairly well known.

These notes were assembled with different classes of readers in mind. For general historians who, no doubt, have long been familiar with colonial epidemics, I have endeavored to eliminate unnecessary medical terminology in order to make this important, though morbid, aspect of colonial social life less bewildering than it appears in the original medical publications. For epidemiologists who may be interested in whether or not contagious diseases change in character over a period of years I have attempted to appraise the severity of some epidemics by citing the most important available statistics. I have also had in mind those young physicians who, on first becoming interested in medical history, are usually unaware of the vast amount of American material yet to be explored. They should not be discouraged because American medical books contributed so little to the advancement of medical science; but if truly interested in the history of their profession, they will find that colonial newspapers, sermons, letters, proclamations, and the like, although written by and for laymen, often contain important medical facts. Even casual observations on diseases in the diaries of observant laymen are frequently more instructive than the best of nebulous theories. Every historical library has at least a few church records, bills of mortality, physicians' letters, or original descriptions of diseases awaiting modern medical interpretation. Colonial America produced no Harvey, Sydenham, or Jenner, but it had its share of diseases; and a medical history of a country should include not only the biographies of its doctors but also the histories of the diseases which they tried to conquer.

Measles[1]

1657–1658

According to John Hull, measles broke out in Boston and surrounding towns during September and October, 1657. By November it had spread to Hartford; and during the winter it continued to spread throughout the Connecticut River valley and also along the southern New England shore at least from Stonington to Stamford. Thomas Minor's diary, the Winthrop family correspondence, and especially the younger John Winthrop's medical records reveal that adults as well as children were afflicted, so it is reasonable to suppose that this was the first measles epidemic in New England. Many of the patients suffered complications yet, on the whole, the epidemic was not very severe for out of a large number of cases in Boston "scarce any died of it." [2]

1687–1688

Thirty years later, measles broke out again in Boston, and during the winter of 1687–1688 it "raged throughout the country." At about the same time "the King's ships brought the Measles" to Quebec. In contrast to the first one, these epidemics appear to have been severe. No statistics are available, but of five adult cases mentioned in one brief passage in Sewall's diary, two were fatal. It also appears that inflammation of the brain (encephalitis), the most serious of measles complications, was fairly common, particularly among adults. There are some indications of it in two of Sewall's letters; and Joshua Moody wrote to Increase Mather: "There are also sundry in the Country that remain distracted since the measills last spring."

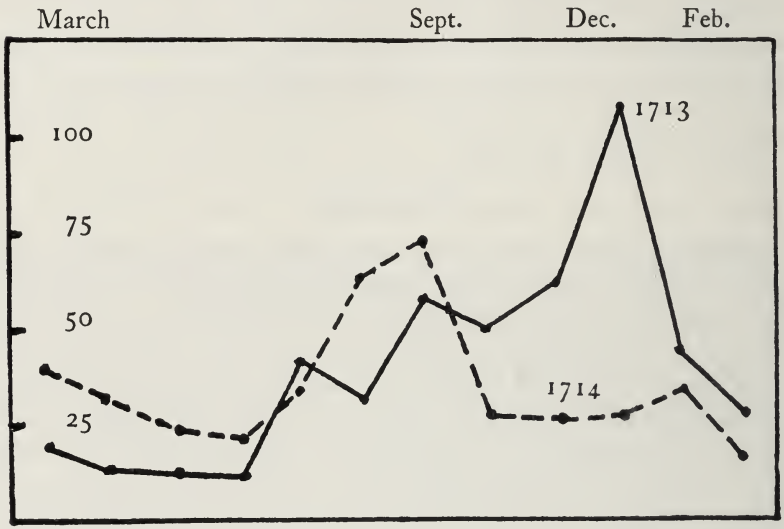
1713–1715

Several persons died during an epidemic in Virginia during 1693, but there is no available evidence that this epidemic spread to other colonies. During the late summer of 1713 the disease appeared in some town near Newport, Rhode Island, and from there it was apparently carried to Cam-

[1] This chapter is a summary, with additions, of my article "Early Measles Epidemics in America," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, XV (March, 1943), 531–556. Fuller sources are given in the original article.

[2] *Archæologica Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, III. 147, 181; Winthrop MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society; Eva L. Butler's abstracts from Winthrop's "Medical Records" (MS., Conn. State Library).

bridge by some Harvard student, for an epidemic broke out at the college during September before it spread throughout the town. The Boston epidemic began during October and continued until the following spring. By January the disease had reached New York and a few towns in New Jersey, and by March it had appeared in numerous towns from Piscataqua to Philadelphia.[3] The epidemic passed by some towns at first only to return to them some months later. It was present on Long Island during May, 1714, on Cape Cod during June, in Danvers during November, and in New London during the winter and spring of 1714–1715.



Deaths in Boston, 1713–1714
During an average year (1714) the peak was reached in September.

This was the most alarming measles epidemic of colonial times. It was particularly severe in Boston, for "The Hand of the Lord was heavy there." Out of a population of about 9,000, "Many Hundreds, perhaps Thousands," had the disease.[4] Compared with the same months of the following year, there were 180 excess deaths;[5] so it is safe to attribute at least 100 to the epidemic. Three different fast days were observed during the winter of 1713–1714 because of measles, scarcity of corn, and "Gen-

[3] *Boston News-Letter*, February 8, March 15, 1714.
[4] Cotton Mather, *Hezekiah* (Boston, 1713), 21; *A Perfect Recovery* (Boston, 1714), 47.
[5] "Burials within the Town of Boston," *Boston News-Letter*, March 15, 1714.

eral Adversity"; and about the first of April there was "Publick Thanksgiving . . . for God's Great Goodness . . . in restoring Health."[6] This epidemic was also severe in other towns. During March it was "very mortal" in Salem, West-Jersey; and on May 27 it was reported from Philadelphia: "We have here an extream sickly Town, and many Dies, five lies Dead now, and several were Buried Yesterday."[7] In New London there were nine measles deaths in a population of 2,000. A minister in Westchester, fearing that he would get the "very mortal distemper," refused to baptize a dying child.

Cotton Mather repeatedly said that in Europe measles was usually considered a mild disease, but that in America it was "a very heavy Calamity; a Malady *Grievous* to most, *Mortal* to many, and leaving pernicious Relicks behind it in all." He had good reason "to Remember the Wormwood and the Gall," for every member of his household except himself got this "venomous" disease, and five of them—his wife, maid, newly born twins, and two-year-old daughter—died within two weeks. Another daughter, Katherine, never regained her health after her attack, dying three years later at the age of twenty-seven from a residual "consumption."[8] Three children in one family and two in another died during the New London epidemic. It should be stressed that this was one of the very few measles epidemics during which there were multiple deaths.

As in other epidemics, there were some exceptions to the general rule. Of the first fifty scholars who were sick at Harvard College, every one recovered.[9] The diaries of Joseph Green, Joshua Hempstead, and John Pain reveal that though the disease was undoubtedly more severe than usual, many families pulled through without serious complications. Also, in spite of measles being exceedingly contagious, some families in Boston managed to escape it entirely.[10] In small, distant towns many more families must have escaped also, because, as the records of subsequent epidemics show, many persons living in 1713 did not get the disease until they were advanced in years.

Inasmuch as measles is still frequently confused with other diseases, one must consider the possibility of error in those cases called "measles" in non-epidemic years of colonial times; but, on the other hand, the disease having been so alarming and so many persons having made determined efforts to

[6] *Id.*, April 5, 1714.
[7] *Id.*, June 7, 1714.
[8] Cotton Mather, *Victorina* (Boston, 1717), 71–72.
[9] Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VI (Boston, 1942), 19.
[10] Peter Cutler to Rowland Cotton, March 6, 1713/4; John Legg to Rowland Cotton, March 1, 1715/6 (Misc. MSS., Bound, M.H.S.).

avoid it, it is possible that many successfully escaped epidemics only to get the disease when off-guard in nonepidemic years. At any rate, after the epidemic of 1713–1715 more cases of "measles" can be found than after any other serious and widespread epidemic. A death from measles was said to have occurred in New London in January, 1716,[11] a year after the epidemic swept through that town; and John Legg of Boston said that his family had it about February, 1716, which was then "a time of general health." There was at least one case of "measles" in Dedham in 1717;[12] and another epidemic was reported in Hingham in 1722.[13] There had been an epidemic on board a ship from Ireland which arrived in Boston harbor in 1724. The failure of widespread epidemics to develop from these cases is best explained on the ground that not enough susceptible persons were congregated in any exposed area for an epidemic to get started. It is also interesting that following this epidemic, everyone fully appreciated the value of permanent immunity. Periodically in the newspapers appeared advertisements of the sale of slaves whose owners thought they were all the more desirable because they had had "the Measles and the Small Pox."[14]

No account of the 1713 epidemic would be complete without a word about Cotton Mather's *A Letter about a Good Management under the Distemper of the Measles, at This Time Spreading in the Country.* Although at one time dismissed as merely "an ancient curiosity," it happens to be, particularly because of its originality, one of the very few classics of early American medicine.

1729

The epidemic of 1729 appears to have been more severe in some towns than in others. So far I have found records of only three measles deaths in New England—one person died in New London in February at the age of sixty-four, another in Guilford in June at the age of thirty-six, and another in Lynn in July at the age of twenty-six.[15] The May epidemic in Boston was "very favourable & moderate." The New York epidemic was very serious probably because it occurred at a time when pneumonia (or influenza?) was prevalent. During March and April there were "numbers of buryings, Some of the measles but most of the pain in the side."

[11] F. M. Caulkins, "Necrology of New London," 28 (MS., Conn. State Library).

[12] Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* VI. 19.

[13] *New-England Courant,* January 22, 1722.

[14] *Boston News-Letter,* April 6, 1719; *Boston Gazette,* March 11, 1723.

[15] Jeremiah B. Munger, *The Munger Book* (New Haven, 1915), 5. *Vital Records of Lynn,* II. 497 (Adam Hawkes).

By proclamation the Governor suspended the sessions of the Supreme Court for over two months to help prevent the spread of the "infection in the air."[16] "In all my days," wrote James Alexander when many members of his family were having the disease, "I never saw So generall a Sickness in a place nor a greater Mortality."

1739–1740

Though Thomas Smith mentioned an epidemic in Falmouth during the summer and autumn of 1736, the next large epidemic in New England broke out in 1739. It started in Boston in June and apparently continued at least until November when Cotton Mather's *Letter* was reprinted. During November it broke out also in Lynn[17] as well as in Natick where two children of Hezekiah Comacho, an Indian, died.[18] The Reverend Ebenezer Parkman mentioned that the disease was in Shrewsbury during July, in Springfield during November, in Westborough and Southborough during December, and in Marlborough and Worcester the following March.[19] Parkman's account is doubly interesting because of his mention of many adult cases, including those of his own wife and "old Mr. Fay" and his wife, and his description of Silas Brigham, thirty years old, who was "raving Distracted" (from encephalitis?) for at least three weeks after his attack. There were many multiple deaths, but they were apparently all caused by throat distemper, which was raging throughout Worcester County at that time.

In Connecticut there were epidemics in New Haven, New London and Hartford. Some students at Yale had it in January, 1740. The three victims in New London were 14, "60 odd," and "about 72 or 73" years of age.

1747–1749

On the basis of some figures in the *Births and Burials* for Christ Church Parish, Philadelphia, it is estimated that there were 84 deaths from measles among the 15,000 inhabitants of that city during 1747. That makes a measles death rate of 560 per 100,000 population, which seems extraordinarily high compared with the present rate of about 0.3 per 100,000.

Only a few scattered notes are available concerning the disease in New

[16] I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909* (New York, 1922), IV. 975.

[17] Diary of Zaccheus Collins (MS., Essex Institute), 1 (November, 1739).

[18] *Vital Records of Natick*, 210.

[19] Parkman Diary (MS., American Antiquarian Society).

Hampshire,[20] Massachusetts,[21] Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and South Carolina.

1758–1760

The epidemic which began in 1758 continued into January, 1760. Records of it have been found in about twenty-five towns from Maine to South Carolina.[22] It was "very thick" in Cambridge, and because so few at "the seat of the Muses" had had the disease, the winter vacation was prolonged three weeks. Nevertheless, "pritty many Scholars" came down. The vital records of various towns show a fairly large number of infants, wives, and widows dying from the disease. Some very prominent persons had it. Henry Gibbs, Clerk of the Massachusetts General Court, died in February, 1759. Mrs. George Washington, then twenty-eight years old, caused her husband a little uneasiness for a few days but apparently recovered without complications.[23] William Tompson, minister at Scarborough, died at the age of sixty-two and was buried by the town with pomp and splendor at a cost of £22.[24]

This epidemic, in particular, illustrates the risk of drawing false conclusions about the severity of measles from records of local epidemics. "Several" died in Falmouth out of a population of less than a thousand. At least five of the nine hundred inhabitants of Medford died. The Reverend John Ballantine of Westfield wrote in his diary for April 18, 1759: "The measles have been in every house but six or seven in town. Many have died, nine in April, one child lost the sight of one eye."[25] In Fairfield, New Jersey, not a family was spared, and "many" died. It is estimated that there were over one hundred deaths in Philadelphia. One might therefore conclude that measles was unusually severe in 1759, but in Marlborough,

[20] Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire* (Dover, 1812), III. 181: three measles deaths in Hampton between 1745 and 1754 (presumably 1747, 1748, or 1749).

[21] *Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.*, F. E. Oliver, Editor (Boston, 1880), 167.

[22] In addition to the references in my earlier article, see *Vital Records of Medford*, 377, 391, 421, 455, 458 (Gill, Hawks, Reeves, Warren, White); *Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.*, 187 (for Boston); Lionel Chalmers, *An Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina* (London, 1776), II. 161. Parkman Diary (MS., American Antiquarian Society) for epidemics in various towns in Worcester County between February and July, 1759.

[23] *Diaries of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor (Boston, 1925), I. 107, 108, 111, 123.

[24] Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VI. 285.

[25] John H. Lockwood, *Westfield and Its Historic Influences, 1669–1919* (n.p., 1922), I. 388. Westfield at the time had a population of 800.

Massachusetts, out of a population of about twelve hundred there were over five hundred cases "from the Age of Seventy-odd to the Age of six Weeks, and not one Person died." Also, in his Thanksgiving Proclamation, the Governor of Massachusetts said that, on the whole, the visitation had been "so gentle."

1772–1774

The next great epidemic is interesting in view of the relation of measles epidemics to wars. In the army camps of the first World War, the Civil War, and the War of 1812, measles caused considerable trouble; but the medical records of the Revolutionary War have, so far, failed to reveal any trace of the disease. This was because the epidemic which started in 1772 and which was still spreading on some isolated plantations of Virginia in February, 1774, had involved all the colonies, at least from Maine to South Carolina,[26] and had left the population immune. Like many other epidemics, this one varied in severity in different towns and also involved all age groups, though these features were not so striking as in previous cases. By August, 1772, when the disease had reached its peak in Boston,[27] it had been "very light," and in November the Governor proclaimed a Day of Thanksgiving, among other reasons, because "an infectious Distemper which had sometimes been very mortal and grievously distressing was then mild and gentle."[28] By the following January, in the North Parish of Bridgewater, out of an estimated population of less than a thousand, there were 721 cases and four deaths.[29] There were nine deaths among the 8,000 people of Salem, [30] and about 150 deaths among the 25,000 people of Philadelphia. In Ipswich one infant died aged seven weeks and another aged three months;[31] while at the other extreme, a widow "above 70" died in Gloucester, and Mr. Nathan Packard, "up-

[26] In addition to the references in my earlier article see *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane*, William Willis, Editor (Portland, 1849), 222; Memoirs of the Reverend John Wiswall (MS., Maine Hist. Soc.), 4; Middletown First Society Records (MS., Conn. State Library); *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIV (July, 1905), 41 (diary of Colonel Landon Carter); Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), 157. "We hear from Dedham, that 335 Persons have lately had the Measles, in the Rev. Mr. Haven's Parish, and not one has died; but are all recovered to a good Measure of Health again. Some of almost every Age, between 60 Years and one Month, have had the Distemper." *New London Gazette*, May 7, 1773.

[27] 3 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, II. 474 (diary of Dr. Cotton Tufts).

[28] *Essex Gazette*, November 3, 1772.

[29] *Boston Evening Post*, January 18, 1773.

[30] *Essex Gazette*, October 20, 1772; January 5, 1773; January 4, 1774.

[31] *Vital Records of Ipswich*, II. 655, 544 (Procter, Dodge).

wards of 80 years of age" died in Bridgewater. Stephen Scales of Chelmsford died from an "apoplectic seizure after measles" (encephalitis?) when thirty-one years old.[32] It was said that the disease spread from the northern colonies to Charleston, South Carolina, where eight to nine hundred children died,[33] but these figures are so far out of line that they need to be confirmed before they can be accepted. There was also a report of a terrible epidemic of "flux" which caused six to seven deaths daily in Williamsburg, but the *Virginia Gazette* of July 22, 1773, reported "with the utmost pleasure . . . that what gave rise to it is only a disorder incident to children after having had the measles."

1783, 1790, ETC.

Though more details are known, there is very little to add about epidemics after the Revolution except that in the larger cities, such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, they occurred at intervals of five to seven years. In Philadelphia there were sporadic deaths from measles almost every year after 1795; but whether the disease had become endemic or whether some of those deaths were erroneously attributed to measles cannot, of course, be determined now. The same may be said for Boston after 1821. At all events, by the turn of the nineteenth century measles had become primarily a disease of childhood, though one can find deaths here and there in persons over thirty years of age.

A review of measles epidemics in any one town reveals a steady, almost mathematical, reduction in the interval between them. I select Boston to illustrate this interesting sequence because it so happens that my Boston records are the most complete. From 1657 to 1841 the interval in years between epidemics was as follows:—30-26-16-10-8-12-13-11-7-7-5-7-6-6-4-4-3-3-6. This gradual reduction in time over the course of two centuries was the result of three interrelated factors: the sailing time between Europe and America, a steady increase in the number of ships and passengers, and a gradual increase in population density.

Up to 1657 the Atlantic Ocean was an effective barrier against measles in spite of epidemics in England, or at least in London, at intervals of three to five years.[34] Since during the seventeenth century the average sailing time was eight to ten weeks and the incubation period of measles less than two weeks, it follows that most shipboard epidemics must have

[32] *Vital Records of Chelmsford*, 437.

[33] *New London Gazette*, September 25, 1772. *Essex Gazette*, November 10, 1772.

[34] Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, II (Cambridge, 1894), 634.

burned out before the ships could reach these shores. To explain the two seventeenth-century epidemics it seems necessary to assume measles epidemics aboard fast ships each with at least one susceptible person so isolated that he could escape the disease until a few days before debarkation. That such coincidences must have been rare explains why epidemics were infrequent. It is possible, of course, that the disease could have been imported from the West Indies; but without any material concerning epidemics there, I surmise that they were few and far between because, for the same reason, the ocean should have protected that area too. During the eighteenth century not only was the sailing time from England reduced to about six weeks—one ship made the voyage from London to Boston in twenty-four days—but, more important, the number of ships and passengers increased greatly, so that the chances of importation were greatly multiplied. Chance importation alone, therefore, could account for the increase in number of eighteenth-century epidemics. But to explain why the increase was orderly it is necessary to consider changes in population density. During all of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century the population was so scattered over such a wide area that after any one widespread epidemic no second one of like extent could occur, even had measles been imported, until there had been a renewal of a concentrated group of susceptible persons, because after any large epidemic immune persons far outnumbered the nonimmune. This explains the failure of widespread epidemics to develop from the small local ones in Hingham in 1722 and in Falmouth in 1736. It can be assumed that most adults who crossed the ocean were immune because epidemics abroad were fairly frequent; hence the chief, if not the only, factor which caused the balance between immunes and nonimmunes to become reversed was the constant addition of new crops of susceptible children. Given a constant birth rate, a steady growth in population density obviously produced a more and more rapid renewal of concentrated groups of nonimmune children, a fact which explains the orderly increase in frequency of epidemics.

Today we are measles self-sufficient. That is to say, we are fully capable of breeding our own measles and no longer dependent on Europe for our epidemics simply because the population density is so great, and consequently the annual crops of susceptible children so large, that measles has become capable of propagating itself and so never entirely disappears from our large cities. In thinly populated, isolated country towns, however, conditions remain similar, so far as measles is concerned, to those of the eighteenth century, and one can still reach old age without experiencing the disease. It may therefore be concluded that there is a certain popu-

lation density at which measles becomes capable of propagating itself. It is difficult to say exactly when that density was reached in this country, but it was probably before the middle of the nineteenth century, when the largest cities began to report measles cases every year.

Just as interesting as the change in epidemic frequency is the change in severity between early epidemics and those of today. There was certainly justification for alarm in the early days. No significant case fatality rates are available[35] because it is impossible to estimate the ratio of deaths to the numbers who were sick; but the death rates, or number of deaths in relation to population, seem appalling when compared with the present rate. The fact that measles has changed from a disease of all age groups to a disease of childhood may account in part for this apparent reduction in severity, because it is believed that children withstand the disease better than adults. But this cannot be the whole explanation since many adults were involved in the epidemics of 1657, 1729, and 1759, which were supposed, at least in Boston, to have been relatively mild.

Another possibility is that different epidemics were caused by different strains of measles virus, some more deadly than others. Aside from the fact that there is at present no evidence of more than one strain of measles virus, one may nevertheless surmise that the mild epidemic of 1657 was caused by a different strain from the one that caused the severe epidemic of 1713. One might, however, start with the premise that each epidemic was caused by a single strain because it seems unlikely that two or more strains were imported in one year, say 1687, when not even one strain was imported in the other fifty-four years between 1687 and 1713. But very few, if any, epidemics were either uniformly mild or uniformly severe. In every one about which enough facts are known to warrant definite conclusions there were areas where the death rate was high and others where it was low. Hence a possible variation in strains cannot be more than a partial answer.

The one outstanding factor that varied from time to time and from town to town was the incidence of other serious diseases. The supposedly severe epidemic in Quebec during 1687 was complicated by another disease called "spotted fever." It is possible that the severe epidemic in Boston during 1713–1714 may have been caused by two diseases.[36] The 1729

[35] The figures for the Marlborough epidemic in 1759 (no deaths out of 500 cases), and for the Dedham epidemic in 1773 (no deaths out of 335 cases) were unusual else they would not have been newsworthy. The figures for the Bridgewater epidemic in 1772 (four deaths out of 721 cases) concern only the North Parish and are therefore incomplete.

[36] Benjamin Wadsworth, *Christian Advice to the Sick and Well* (Boston, 1714), 3. It is difficult to determine whether "the Feaver" was an entirely separate disease or a measles complication.

epidemic in New York may have been severe only because of the prevalence of the disease called "pain in the side." Throat distemper raged in parts of New England during 1739. Dysentery was said to have accompanied measles in Connecticut during 1758; and many children had "flux" and measles in Williamsburg during 1773. The five deaths during the Middletown epidemic of 1783 were attributed to either "Measles & Chincough" or "Measles and Dysentery."[37] Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse wrote in 1783: "In some seasons the Measles are very malignant; at present as far as I have seen, they are mild, regular, and unmixed—yet I am not without my suspicions that pulmonary disorders, and gradual wastings will attend not a few of the more infirm." Since tuberculosis was exceedingly common throughout the eighteenth century it is more than probable that measles was many times only the final blow. It is therefore necessary, in any explanation of the high mortality of early measles epidemics, to take into consideration the presence of other diseases.

Diphtheria

In colonial records one looks for diphtheria under the name of cynanche, squinancy, quinsy, angina, canker, bladders, rattles, hives, throat ail, or throat distemper. It is said that the first epidemic occurred about 1659. According to Cotton Mather, it was during December, 1659, that the Reverend Samuel Danforth lost three children within a fortnight from "Bladders in the Windpipe," which could have been laryngeal diphtheria. Scattered references to probable sporadic cases or local epidemics can be found particularly in Connecticut and Massachusetts between 1712 and 1735. John Walton's *Essay on Fevers, the Rattles & Canker* (Boston, 1732) was the earliest American article on diphtheria, but it was, unfortunately, only a pompous display of useless theories.

The most frightful epidemic of any childhood disease in American history began in 1735.[38] It appeared suddenly in Kingston, New Hampshire, during May, 1735, and gradually spread northward along the coast of Maine and southward into Essex County, Massachusetts. For some strange reason Boston and most of the surrounding towns were not involved to any great extent; for the epidemic, as it approached Boston, turned to the west and southwest and eventually fused with a similar epi-

[37] Middletown First Society Records, August 25–November 30, 1783.

[38] For a bibliography of diphtheria in America up to 1740, and particularly for a detailed account of this epidemic, see my *A True History of the Terrible Epidemic Vulgarly Called the Throat Distemper* (New Haven, 1939).

demic which had started in New Jersey about the same time and had spread to the northeast.

This epidemic seems to have been most severe in the small frontier towns. In Kingston the first forty cases were fatal, and within a few months about half of all the children died. More than half of all the children of Haverhill died. In Hampton Falls one-sixth, and in Byfield and Rowley one-eighth of the population died. In New Hampshire there were at least fifteen hundred deaths out of an estimated population of less than twenty thousand. In Essex County alone there were fourteen hundred deaths. Altogether this so-called "throat distemper" caused five thousand deaths in New England within the first five years.

Over and over again it was called a "new" disease, for no one then alive could recall having seen the like of it before. An analysis of nearly one thousand fatal cases in New Hampshire during 1735–1736, however, reveals that over ninety-five percent were under twenty years of age. Consequently most adults must have been immune; hence, in spite of contemporary opinion, it could not have been a "new" disease.

The most characteristic feature of this epidemic was the occurrence of multiple deaths in families. There were at least six instances of eight deaths at a time, as in the family of John and Marcy Wilson of Andover:

Joshua	died November 10, 1738, aged	4 years
Asa	died November 11, 1738, aged	10 years
Elisabeth	died November 12, 1738, aged	6 years
Phebe	died November 13, 1738, aged	15 years
Mary	died November 14, 1738, aged	7 years
Hannah	died November 15, 1738, aged	13 years
Lydia	died November 17, 1738, aged	2 years
Joseph	died November 17, 1738, aged	17 years

In Hampton Falls one family lost seven children, two families lost six, two lost five, six lost four, and about fourteen families lost three apiece. It appears that certain families, such as the Boynton, Cressey, How, Lock, Moulton, and Pool families, were particularly susceptible, many branches of these families losing two to five, sometimes all, of their children. Children of ministers and physicians also figure prominently in the mortality lists, probably because the disease was carried home by their fathers, few suspecting that it was contagious. Death generally occurred within a week, frequently within a few hours when the disease settled in the larynx.

As a rule the disease spread slowly from one town to the next at the rate of about ten miles a month, but occasionally six months elapsed before it spread to another town. Sometimes it appeared in isolated distant

Awakening Call

To the CHILDREN of

New-England;

Occasioned by the grievous and mortal Sickness that prevails in many Parts of this Land, whereby great Numbers of Children and young People have been carried to their Long Home.

MY Cry's to you, my Children dear,
I beg you'll now attend,
Be wise before it be too late,
think on your latter end.
Though you are young yet you must dye
and hasten to the Pit,
O therefore don't forgetful be,
but always think of it.
Your loving Parents you must leave,
when ever God shall call,
Your Brothers dear and Sisters too,
and bid adieu to all.
With weeping Eyes they will lament,
to see your little Breast,
Heaving and panting up and down,
while you can find no Rest.
O my dear Father cries the Child,
and loving Mother too,
By Death I must be snatch'd away,
and never more see you.
O dry your Eyes, my Parents dear,
Brethren and Sisters all,
My heavenly Father bids me come,
I must obey the Call.
To Death's dark Shades I now must go,
in Place of Silence keep,
And leave my tender loving Friends,
around me thus to weep.
And now dear Children since 'tis so,
that you are born to die,
Keep always on your Heart and Mind,
endless Eternity.
Set always God before your Eyes,
keep his Commandement,
In reading of his holy Word
be very diligent.
Keep holy all the Sabbath-Day,
by no Means it prophane,
Nor lie, nor swear as others do,
nor take God's Name in vain.
Give to your Parents Honour due,
remember well their Care,
How helpful they have been to you,
by Counsel and by Prayer.
And now behold pale Death is come
among the little Lambs,
He spares not for their Tears nor Cries,
but in his boisterous Arms,
Relentless he securely takes,
and sends their Souls away,
And leaves their mouldring Flesh to rest
until the Judgment Day.
He scrapes no Court'sies to the Fair,
nor rich Ones bow the Knee,
But all alike are unto him,
of high or low Degree.
He minds not Parents Cries nor Tears,
nor Fears of little Ones,
Nor will he ever lend an Ear
to their distressing Groans.
Away Physicians, Med'cines all,
you'r now of no more Worth,
For to his gloomy Regions now,
grim Death will lead us forth.
O therefore now my Children dear,
amidst Death's dire alarm,
Flee unto JESUS, he'll secure,
his tender Lambs from Harm.
Seek that your Name may be enroll'd
in his white Book of Fame,
That on your lovely JESUS Breast,
engraven is your Name.
O dread the Judgment now begun,
fall down before your GOD,
O cry out mightily to him,
to moderate his Rod.
O turn you, turn you to the LORD,
all that on Earth do dwell,
For Judgment when it's once begun,
when 'twill End, none can tell,
Repent, Repent, reform O Land,
New-England's Sons who are,
Lest Death and Slaughter fill the Land,
and Judgment close the Year.
O *Kittery*, your Loss we moan,
on *Hampton* drop a Tear,
Over *Newbury* and other Towns,
who deep have drank their Share.
Weep Sion's Daughters, mourn her Sons,
be all in Sackcloth clad,
Humble your selves ye lofty Ones,
before the mighty GOD.
Your gay attire now lay aside,
cast Ashes on your Head,
Lament the wounded of the Lord,
the Numbers of the Dead.
Proclaim a Fast in every House,
and call upon your GOD,
Afflict your Souls, O every one,
under his smarting Rod.
Cast from your Camp the accursed Thing,
the Plague will rage no more,
But Safety by the Almighty's Hand
be wrought on every Door.
Bring forth the Traitors, spare them not,
altho' along they cry,
Pride, Avarice, and Luxury,
for every one must die.
No bleating Sheep, no lowing Ox,
must in your Camp be heard,
Nor right eye Sin, nor right hand Lust,
by any Means be spar'd.
A Sacrifice that's but in Part,
will by no Means attone,
But every Lust must now be slain,
though dear as only Son.
O go to *Nineveh* and see
behold their solemn Fast,
In Sackcloth clad, all Food forbid,
to either Man or Beast.
O you the Servants of the LORD,
his holy Priests that are,
Betwixt the Porch and Altar cry,
O LORD, thy People spare.
Who knows but that the holy GOD,
may stay his powerful Hand,
And turn from his fierce Wrath and send
Salvation to our Land.

FINIS.

Printed and Sold at the *Heart* and *Crown* in Cornhill, *Boston*.

A rare broadside published during one of the diphtheria epidemics (? 1736)
Reproduced by courtesy of the late Dr. Josiah C. Trent

towns when there were no apparent contacts, and it would also seem to disappear from a town, only to return the following year. By 1740 the Connecticut phase of the epidemic which had started in Stamford had spread diagonally across that colony to Killingly; and the New Hampshire phase, though still causing multiple deaths in Newbury, Concord, Lexington, Lynn, Sudbury,[39] and other towns north and west of Boston, was most active in towns near Worcester. Ebenezer Parkman, making notes in his diary during that "melancholy Time," recorded days of fasting and prayer in Westborough, Southborough, Marlborough, Hopkinton, and Grafton. Measles was still prevalent in this region during the summer of 1740; and during the following spring, yet another disease complicated the epidemic at Sutton. The Reverend David Hall recorded in his diary for April 6, 1741: "Nineteen persons have died with the long fever: many more of the throat distemper; no less than five in one Family God's hand is upon old and young, especially upon my People."[40] By the end of 1741 the epidemic had spread over nearly all the settled regions of New England.

After the initial outbreak in a town the disease would quiet down for a while but, unlike measles, it would never entirely disappear. In many towns one can find multiple deaths from throat distemper for two or three years following an epidemic peak, but usually the disease would recede more and more to a period of comparative calm, only to be followed by another outbreak. At first sight no general pattern is discernible in these subsequent waves, and a mere list of New England epidemics after 1741 appears to be a meaningless array of dates. But if a certain group of towns is selected for study, it looks as if the disease kept reappearing at intervals of seven to ten years. Thus in New Hampshire, Stratham and Greenland were revisited in 1742, Newmarket in 1743, Kingston and Exeter in 1744, and Hampton in 1745.[41] A third epidemic wave swept over this

[39] *Boston Gazette*, May 26, 1740 (Long family in Newbury, five deaths); *Concord, Massachusetts, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1635–1850*, 144 (Hartwell family, five deaths); *Lexington, Mass., Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 204 (Stone family, two deaths); Diary of Zaccheus Collins of Lynn, September–October; *Vital Records of Lynn*, II. 433–439 (Breed family, four deaths), 513–518 (Johnson family, two deaths); *Vital Records of Sudbury*, 298 (Brintnal family, two deaths), 303 (Estabrook family, three deaths), 315 (Maynard family, two deaths), 330 (Whelor family, three deaths), 331 (Woodward family, two deaths).

[40] David Hall Diary. (MS., Massachusetts Historical Society.)

[41] For Greenland and Stratham, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXIX. 38–39, XXX. 427–428, XXXII. 48–49; *A Journal for the Years 1739–1803 by Samuel Lane, of Stratham*, Charles L. Hanson, Editor (Concord, 1937), 65, 105. The Greenland records (partly destroyed) show two deaths in 1742 in the Cate family, and in 1743 three deaths in the Foss family and three in the Weeks

same area, involving Exeter, Stratham, and Rye in 1753, Hampton and Kingston in 1754, and East Kingston in 1755.[42] Again, these subsequent waves, unlike those of measles, were not dependent on fresh importation, because it is doubtful if New Hampshire was free from the disease at any time between them. Nor does it appear that the disease spread directly from one town to the next, as it seemed to do in the first severe outbreak. Therefore, particularly in view of the slight variation in dates, it is surmised that these subsequent epidemics were chiefly dependent on new crops of susceptible children. Apparently it took seven to ten years, depending somewhat on the number of births, for nonimmune subjects to become numerous enough for an epidemic to occur.

In Massachusetts, to find any sort of pattern in the numerous epidemics, it is also necessary to study towns of a certain area. In the northeastern part of the province, very little information is found about the disease after 1741 until the cold months of 1747 and 1748, when there were numerous multiple deaths.[43] The cause of these deaths still remains

family. In Stratham "throat ail" caused ninety-five deaths, eighty in five months (the 1735 epidemic caused eighteen deaths). From August, 1742, to January, 1743, there were six deaths in both the Calley and Stockbridge families, five in the Walter Wiggins family, four each in the William Chase, Hills, Speed, and Veazey families, three each in the Abbott, Palmer, Thurston, and Tuftin Wiggins families, and two each in the Jonathan Chase, Jr., Jewet, Jones, Mason, Merrill, Norris, Rollings, Smith, and Stevens families. Belknap, in his *History of New Hampshire* (III. 238, 243, 247), gives figures showing epidemics in Hampton, Newmarket, and East Kingston, although no cause is given in the case of the last two. The Reverend Thomas Smith identifies the disease in Exeter, Kingston, and Stratham. *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane*, 116 (November 14, 1744). There were numerous deaths from the "awful throat distemper" in Hampton. *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LVIII. 29–36.

[42] "We hear that the Throat Distemper prevails and proves mortal in several Towns at the Eastward, particularly at Rye in New-Hampshire, where in one Family of five desirable Children, the Parents have been bereav'd of them all, in a short Time of one another." *Boston Gazette*, August 28, 1753. There were ten deaths in Exeter. Diary of the Reverend Daniel Rogers (MS., Maine Hist. Soc.). Samuel Lane of Stratham records fifty-seven deaths there, although the cause is not stated. *Journal*, 70. According to Belknap, throat distemper in 1754 and 1755 "produced a great mortality in several parts of New-Hampshire, and the neighbouring parts of Massachusetts." *History of New Hampshire*, II, 96. He also gives figures showing epidemics, from unstated causes, in Hampton and East Kingston. *Id.*, III. 178, 186. Other data for the epidemic in Hampton show that in 1754–1755 there were five deaths in the Jonathan Moulton family, three each in the Josiah Moulton, Amos Towls, Elisha Towls, and Joseph Towls families, two each in the Worthy Moulton, Philbrick, and Nathaniel Towls families, and one in the Ezekiel Moulton family. *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LVIII. 139–140. For the epidemic in Kingston, see *Boston Evening Journal (Supplement)*, February 19, 26, 1881.

[43] *Vital Records of Andover*, II. 388–389 (Nathaniel and Stephen Barnard families, two deaths each), 487 (Kimbol family, two deaths), 488 (Kittredge family, two

unknown; but they were probably due to throat distemper, since that disease was the cause of most of the deaths during the epidemic in Bedford, Billerica, Byfield, Chelmsford, Tewksbury, and Wakefield during 1749–1750.[44] On the whole, these epidemics were less severe than those in this region during the previous decade; but one can hardly call them mild when there were numerous instances of three or four deaths in a family. It appears, however, that epidemics varied in severity in different towns, depending somewhat on the extent of previous damage. When one epidemic was widespread enough to cause a large number of deaths, the following one was usually less destructive. The available Tewksbury records show no large epidemics after the one in 1749, although a few deaths from "canker," "quinsy," or "throat distemper" occurred during many of the next fifty years. On the other hand, in other towns of this area epidemics continued to occur in waves. There was another outbreak during

deaths), 517–520 (Parker family, two deaths); *Vital Records of Billerica*, 398 (Stickney family, four deaths); *Vital Records of Bradford*, 312–313 (Gage family, four deaths), 325 (Hardy family, one death, "throat distemper"); *Vital Records of Haverhill*, II. 446–447 (Mitchell family, six deaths); *Lexington, Mass., Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 210–211 (Winship family, four deaths); *Vital Records of Marblehead*, II. 679 (Swan family, two deaths); *Vital Records of Newbury*, II. 549 (Berry family, four deaths); *Vital Records of Rowley*, 509 (Pingree family, two deaths), 520–521 (Smith family, two deaths); *Vital Records of Salisbury*, 577 (Hook family, two deaths); *Vital Records of Topsfield*, I. 202 (Averell family, two deaths), 222–225 (Daniel Gould family, three deaths, Thomas Gould family, two deaths), 238–244 (Perkins family, four deaths); *Vital Records of Wenham*, 209 (Kimball family, two deaths, "throat distemper"), 223 (Waldron family, four deaths). There were more multiple deaths in some of these towns between August and November, but dysentery cannot be excluded as a cause. There was also some smallpox at Beverly, Salem, and Wenham during January, 1747.

[44] *Vital Records of Bedford*, 113–115 (Bacon family, three deaths), 119–121 (Fitch family, three deaths), 125 (Hutchinson family, three deaths), 140 (Whitmore family, four deaths); *Vital Records of Billerica*, 355 (Daves family, two deaths), 357 (Dutton family, two deaths), 376 (Lewis family, two deaths), 398 (William Stickney family, three deaths, Daniel Stickney family, two deaths). The deaths given in the Byfield parish records show seventeen from throat distemper between January, 1749, and August, 1750. *Essex Antiquarian*, VII. 145–146. (Some of the names are duplicated in *Vital Records of Newbury*.) *Vital Records of Chelmsford*, 366–367 (Blodget family, three deaths), 399 (Harris family, two deaths). At least two of the seven Spaulding children who died in Chelmsford between August 18 and November 20 had throat distemper. *Id.*, 443–447. At least thirty-eight died from this disease in Tewksbury between April and December, 1749, most of them in August. See, for instance, *Vital Records of Tewksbury*, 201 (Coggin family, two deaths), 209–211 (Frost family, three deaths), 214-215 (Haseltine family, two deaths), 219 (Kidder family, three deaths), 220–223 (Isaac Kittredge family, four deaths, Joseph and William Kittredge families, two deaths each), 227–228 (Manning family, five deaths), 233 (Peacock family, two deaths). There were seventeen deaths in Wakefield between April and November. *Vital Records of Wakefield.*

the years 1753–1756, particularly in Byfield, Chelmsford, and Concord;[45] and still another from 1761 to 1765, particularly in Andover, Byfield, Boxford, Bradford, Haverhill, and Groton.[46] It was said that the Haverhill epidemic "was in a milder form [than in 1736], or was better understood, and but few died." Thereafter epidemics in this region became more and more rare. There were a few multiple deaths from "canker" in Middleton during 1769;[47] and more from some unidentified disease, probably throat distemper, in many towns during the cold months of 1778. There were also many single deaths from "canker" and "sore throat" here and there almost every year, and particularly during the scarlet fever years of 1784 and 1795, but there were no epidemics at all comparable to the earlier ones.

In southeastern Massachusetts the disease was most erratic in its progress, or so it seems from the records now available. Multiple deaths began to occur in Bridgewater about December, 1746, and were followed

[45] Belknap reports that there was throat distemper in the "neighboring parts of Massachusetts" during 1754–1755. *History of New Hampshire*, II. 96. There were six deaths from it in Byfield in May, 1753. *Essex Antiquarian*, VII. 146. See also *Concord, Mass., Births, Marriages, and Deaths*, 183 (Blood family, three deaths, Holdin family, two deaths, Meriam family, two deaths). There was also "a good deal" of throat distemper in March, 1756, in Chelmsford. Wilson Waters, *History of Chelmsford* (Lowell, 1917), 786.

[46] Between December, 1762, and September, 1764, there were in Andover three deaths in the Abbott family, four in the Bachellor family, three in the Frazier family, six in the Ingals family, three in the Joseph Martain family, and two in the Nathaniel Martain family. The causes are not stated. *Vital Records of Andover*, II. 370–374, 380, 443, 476–477, 501. In Byfield there were nine deaths from throat distemper between June and August, 1761. *Essex Antiquarian*, VII. 149. Between May and December, 1762, there were in Boxford three deaths in the Barker family, two in the Burbank family, two in the Carlton family, three in the Cole family, two in the Robinson family, and two in the Spafford family. No causes are given. *Vital Records of Boxford*, 223–224, 227, 228, 230–231, 260–261, 264. For throat distemper deaths in Bradford, see *Vital Records of Bradford*, 293 (Atwood family, one), 319–325 (Hardy family, two), 348–351 (Parker family, three). There were also two deaths in the Balch family and two in the Lindall family, causes unspecified. *Id.*, 295–296, 340. For the epidemic in Haverhill, see *Vital Records of Haverhill*, II. 391 (Eatton family, three deaths), 393–397 (Emerson family, four deaths), 424 (Hunkins family, two deaths), 470 (Shapard family, two deaths), 484–488 (Webster family, three deaths); "An Historical Sketch of Haverhill," 2 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 134. In Groton between June, 1765, and January, 1766, there were four deaths in the Hobart family, one in the Nutting family, four in the Pierce family, one in the Benjamin Prescott family, two in the James Prescott family, and three in the Oliver Prescott family. *Vital Records of Groton*, II. 232, 248, 255, 256–257.

[47] *Vital Records of Middleton*, 138 (Smith family, two deaths), 139 (Thomas family, two deaths), 140 (Upton family, four deaths), 140–142 (Wilkins family, two deaths).

during 1747–1749 by others in East Bridgewater, Kingston, Scituate, Cohasset, Braintree and Halifax.[48] It was said of Kingston:

Jan. 7. 1747, 8. The Sickness in this Town remains exceeding bad; but here has been one Instance the like of which has not been known in the Memory of Man, viz. *Mr.* Thomas Cushman *of this Town had five Children of his own and another related to him in his House, four of his own Children died about a Week ago within the Space of eight Hours, of the* Throat-Distemper, *and this Week the other two Children died, and the Family left childless. About 30 have died in this small Town in a few Months past, and three of them grown in years, the rest Children.*[49]

After a lull of about a year, that is, during 1751–1752, some terrible epidemics reappeared in this same area but in different towns—Abington, Attleborough, Hanover, and Weymouth. Twelve percent of the population, or 150 persons, mostly children, died in Weymouth during "The Throat Distemper Year" of 1751.[50] The Colson family lost four children

[48] *Vital Records of Bridgewater*, II. 423–427 (Alden family, three deaths), 434 (Bass family, three deaths), 436 (Beal family, three deaths), 440–441 (Brett family, three deaths), 441-442 (Brown family, four deaths), 458–459 (Dunbar family, two deaths), 481–483 (Ebenezer Haward family, four deaths, Seth Haward family, two deaths), 508–509 (Kingman family, three deaths), 532–535 (Packard family, three deaths), 553–555 (Shaw family, two deaths), 569–576 (Cornelius Washburn family, three deaths, Ziporah Washburn family, two deaths), 577–579 (Whitman family, four deaths). Most of these deaths, for which no causes are stated, occurred in 1747. Between February and April, 1752, there were six deaths from "canker" in the Packard family. *Id.*, 532–535. For East Bridgewater, see *Vital Records of East Bridgewater*, 335 (Angier family, four deaths), 357 (Hayward family, three deaths), 367–368 (Kingman family, three deaths). No causes are given, but in the case of the Angier children it is known from another source that they had throat distemper. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VI. 370. For Scituate, see the records of the Second Church (*New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LX. 62), which state that three Palmer children had throat distemper in 1747. For Cohasset, see *Vital Records of Cohasset*, 229 (Stodder family, three deaths). The *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of June 22, 1749, contains a report of five deaths from throat distemper within four days in the family of Ephraim Jones, Jr., of Braintree. For the epidemic in Halifax between April and October, 1747, see *Vital Records of Halifax*, 2, 3 (Andrew Bars family, two deaths, Austin Bars family, three deaths, Croade family, two deaths, Harris family, three deaths, Sears family, two deaths, Barnabas Tomson family, four deaths, Jacob Tomson, Jr., family, two deaths, Waterman family, two deaths).

[49] *Independent Advertiser*, January 11, 1748. For further data about the epidemic in Kingston, see 2 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, III. 216; *Vital Records of Kingston*, 319–322 (Bradford family, five deaths), 335-337 (Jonathan Cushman family, three deaths, Robert Cushman family, three deaths, Thomas Cushman family, five deaths), 373 (Ring family, two deaths), 375 (Rogers family, two deaths).

[50] In Abington there were sixty deaths, mostly of children. Benjamin Hobart, *History of the Town of Abington* (Boston, 1866), 263. See also *Mayflower Descendant*, VIII (January, 1906), 11; *Vital Records of Abington*, II. 255 (Blancher family,

in January, 1752, and three more from "throat ail" in 1760.[51] About eighty children died in Hingham.

Though the disease in eastern Massachusetts seems to have quieted down considerably after the seventeen-sixties, it continued its periodic outbreaks in the small towns of the north-central section. An epidemic in Westminster in 1764 was followed by another in Athol in 1776 and another more severe one in Princeton and surrounding towns in Worcester County during 1786. The newspapers called the disease "the most fatal one, to children especially, of any known in this country." The next severe one had its center in Royalston, where fifty-seven children and nine adults succumbed in 1795. At least three families lost five apiece. That year five in one family died in Rutland also.[52]

three deaths), 279 (Forde family, three deaths), 350–356 (Shaw family, four deaths), 361 (Stockbridge family, three deaths), 370–371 (Vining family, four deaths). For Attleborough, see *Vital Records of Attleborough*, 645–649 (Elisha Carpenter family, four deaths, Stephen Carpenter family, five deaths), 667–668 (Everett family, two deaths), 671 (Follett family, two deaths), 712–714 (Robinson family, two deaths). The causes of the deaths are not stated. For Hanover, see L. Vernon Briggs, *History and Records of the First Congregational Church, Hanover, Massachusetts*, I (Boston, 1895), 185 (Bray family, two deaths, Cobb family, five deaths, Wing family, two deaths). The Reverend William Smith gives in his diary a detailed account of the epidemic in Weymouth for the period July 12–November 21, 1751. *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLII. 458–462. See also *History of Weymouth, Massachusetts* (n.p., 1923), II. 565; *Vital Records of Weymouth*, II. 233–239 (Bates family, five deaths), 240–241 (Beal family, two deaths), 242–244 (Bicknell family, two deaths), 278–282 (Holbrook family, two deaths), 282–283 (Hollis family, two deaths), 347–351 (Tirrell family, two deaths), 357–358 (Turner family, four deaths), 360–361 (Vinson family, two deaths), 370–372 (Whitman family, three deaths).

[51] *Vital Records of Weymouth*, II. 257–258.

[52] For Westminster, see *Vital Records of Westminster*, 213 (Bemis family, two deaths), 216 (Calf family, four deaths), 229 (Hoar family, two deaths), 249 (Stedman family, three deaths), 253 (Whitney family, four deaths). The causes of death are not given. For Athol, see *Vital Records of Athol*, 185 (Biglow family, two deaths), 189 (Commins family, two deaths), 192 (Dunton family, three deaths), 195 (Foster family, three deaths), 218 (Sanders family, two deaths), 221 (Stockwell family, two deaths, Stone family, two deaths). No causes are stated. For Princeton, see *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy*, February 16, 1786; *Vital Records of Princeton*, 167 (Harrington family, six deaths), 176 (Mathews family, four deaths). For Winchendon, see *Vital Records of Winchendon*, 191–192 (Evans family, two deaths in 1786, two in 1795), 192–193 (Flint family, two deaths), 197–198 (Heywood family, two deaths), 214–215 (Stoddard family, four deaths). No causes are given. For Royalston, see Lilley B. Caswell, *History of the Town of Royalston, Massachusetts* ([Athol], 1917), 459; *Diary and Journal (1755–1807) of Seth Metcalf* (Boston, W.P.A. Historical Record Survey, 1939), 21; *Vital Records of Royalston*, 162 (Bachelor family, two deaths), 164–165 (Bliss family, two deaths), 172 (Estey family, two deaths), 173 (Faulkner family, two deaths), 177–178 (Heywood family, five deaths), 182–183 (Metcalf family, two deaths), 184

My records of other sections of Massachusetts are at present so incomplete that no conclusions concerning the behavior of the disease over a long period of time seem justified. Some of these are newspaper accounts of multiple deaths in one family, and efforts to find an epidemic have been fruitless. On the other hand, there were many fairly severe epidemics accompanied by multiple deaths which were not even mentioned in the newspapers. One notable exception was the frightful epidemic which raged in Oxford between 1767 and 1770.[53] It caused the deaths of one hundred and forty-four persons, mostly children two to fourteen years of age, which was twelve percent of the population. Two families each lost eight children. One possible explanation for this high mortality is that the disease seems to have been relatively rare in Oxford after the epidemic of 1740–1743.

In certain areas of Connecticut the disease also seems to have occurred in waves, but there is little justification for enumerating twenty or more different outbreaks until the history of the disease in that colony is more complete. Only scattered references to epidemics in other colonies are available at the present time.

In one respect diphtheria differed from any other disease. In such areas as northeastern Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where for a period of about forty years it had kept recurring in epidemic waves, after the Revolution it gradually caused fewer and fewer deaths in spite of a great increase of population. It never entirely disappeared, for one can find here and there single deaths and even an occasional small epidemic attributed to "canker," "quinsy," or "throat distemper." Yet not only did the total deaths from this disease fail to increase with the growth of towns, but the incidence of multiple deaths also fell off appreciably. Instances of five or more deaths in a family, so characteristic of the early epidemics, are noticeably absent after 1780. Even four deaths in a family are difficult to find. Scarlet fever was prevalent during most of this period and was fre-

(Nichols family, two deaths), 193–194 (Wheeler family, five deaths), 194 (White family, five deaths).

[53] *Essex Gazette,* October 17, 1769, January 9, 1770; *Vital Records of Oxford,* 268 (Ballard family, three deaths), 269 (Barton family, two deaths), 270 (Bogle family, two deaths), 272–273 (Campbell family, two deaths), 274 (Claflin family, two deaths), 280–281 (Eddy family, two deaths), 282 (Fuller family, three deaths), 284–285 (Harris family, five deaths), 287–288 (Benjamin Hudson family, three deaths, Joseph Hudson family, four deaths), 288 (Humphrey family, two deaths), 290–291 (Lamb family, four deaths), 292–293 (Learned family, three deaths), 297–298 (Moore family, seven deaths), 301 (Phillips family, two deaths), 302–303 (Pratt family, two deaths), 306–307 (Shumway family, four deaths), 313 (Watson family, two deaths).

quently confused with diphtheria; but even allowing for difficulties in interpretation and attributing the worst scarlet fever epidemics to diphtheria, one still cannot find any epidemics to equal those between 1735 and 1770. It is also significant that Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley (1786), Dr. Hall Jackson (1786), and Dr. Edward Holyoke (1797) all spoke of old-fashioned throat distemper as a disease that had not been seen for years; and Jeremy Belknap's figures for New Hampshire show a decided decrease in the incidence of the disease as the century closed. Since terrible epidemics were to return to these same areas later in the nineteenth century it appears that the recurring epidemic waves which began so explosively in 1735 were in turn only a part of a greater cycle in the age-old chronicle of diphtheria. These great cycles were certainly independent of any methods of treatment or prevention, and apparently independent of quantitative changes in population. Should further studies of other areas reveal similar great cycles in diphtheria incidence, one should be better able to understand the curious natural history of this terrible disease.

More facts are needed to determine whether these great cycles were caused by changes in the disease itself or by changes in population immunity. From the facts now available it appears that the population had gradually become more resistant possibly because a large proportion of the children in the more susceptible families had failed to survive the repeated epidemics. A change in the virulence of the causative organism hardly explains the fact that during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the disease was on the wane in the old established towns of eastern Massachusetts and New Hampshire, malignant epidemics began to appear in the small towns of Maine, Vermont, western Massachusetts, Ohio, and Kentucky—towns nearer to the periphery of a rapidly expanding civilization, and towns with populations which had not been immunized by previous epidemics.

Scarlet Fever

Brief references to an epidemic of scarlet fever in Boston between September and December, 1702, can be found in the diaries of John Marshall and Cotton Mather.[54] Medical historians usually disregard this epidemic, chiefly because Noah Webster, the authority on early American epidemics, accepted the opinion of William Douglass, who, some fifty years after the event, said that it was not scarlet fever at all but hemorrhagic smallpox.[55]

[54] 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 156; 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 446, 507.

[55] William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvement, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America* (Boston, 1753), II. 396.

Back in 1702, however, both Marshall and Mather apparently thought that they were dealing with two separate diseases; and further proof that real scarlet fever was present about that time is contained in Mather's letter to Samuel Penhallow, which was written in December, 1704:

> . . . My daughter *Katy*, is yesterday taken Dangerously and Violently sick of the *Scarlet Feavour;* and we are with much Care and Fear waiting the event of the Sickness. My next Daughter, was taken ill of the same Distemper, at the same Time. And my only Son, who has been longer down is yett very ill of it. My Family is on these Accounts very much under the fatherly Chastisements of God. God make me and mine Gainers by his Chastising Dispensations: and preserve our Neighbourhood, from the spreading of a Calamity, which I doubt is becoming Epidemical.[56]

This could not have been hemorrhagic smallpox because these children had smallpox in 1702.

The next large epidemic of which I am aware began in 1735, but it was then described by the doctors as a "new" disease. Both William Douglass, in his classic *The Practical History of a New Epidemical Eruptive Miliary Fever* (Boston, 1736),[57] and Jonathan Dickinson, in his *Observations On that terrible Disease Vulgarly Called the Throat-Distemper* (Boston, 1740), described a disease which they claimed was not only new but also distinguishable from scarlet fever, yet they mentioned signs, symptoms, and complications which indicate that it must have been the same disease that is now called scarlet fever.

There is considerable information available about the great scarlet fever epidemic in Boston during 1735-1736.[58] It first appeared in August, 1735, among a small group of children of the North End, and by September it had spread to several other parts of the town. During the winter it continued to spread until it reached its peak in March and by July it was "almost over." It was estimated that there were about four thousand cases in a population of sixteen thousand. Douglass noted that it was predominantly a disease of childhood, which means that adults were immune from previous exposure. Thus it could not have been a "new" disease. Though he mentioned a few signs and symptoms which are seen only in diphtheria, there can be no question but that he was dealing primarily with scarlet fever, for he enumerated practically all the signs and symptoms of that disease. He called attention to the intense prostration, delirium,

[56] 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 507.

[57] It has been called "the first adequate clinical description of scarlet fever in English."

[58] Caulfield, *Throat Distemper, passim.*

swollen glands, and desquamation. He even mentioned the strawberry tongue, rheumatic pains in the neck, wrists, and ankles; and, alone among early writers on this disease, he noted some cases with bloody urine. His cases varied in severity from benign to malignant, a few of the latter dying within three days. In some there were extensive hemorrhages, and there were some with purpuric spots on the skin; but these cases apparently were rare. During 1736 the disease appeared in Marblehead, Ipswich, and Haverhill, but no detailed accounts of these epidemics are available.

Scarlet fever today is, by and large, a mild to moderately severe disease with a case fatality rate of less than one percent; but one needs to go back only one generation to find that it used to be severe. Hence it is frequently stated that until very recent times scarlet fever has always been a severe disease. That is an unwarranted conclusion because the one important fact revealed by a study of the 1735-1736 epidemic is that scarlet fever at that time was also comparatively mild. Douglass computed that there were 114 deaths out of 4,000 cases—a case fatality rate of 2.8 percent; and another independent observer of this same epidemic said that fatalities were less than one in sixty—a rate of 1.7 percent. "Very few died" in the Marblehead epidemic, nor was the disease very alarming during another epidemic in Guilford, Connecticut, during 1740.

The Boston doctors, fully aware of the relative mildness of their epidemic, arrived at some astonishing conclusions which had lasting effects on American medicine. It will be recalled that a malignant diphtheria epidemic started in New Hampshire in 1735 just a few months before the outbreak of the Boston scarlet fever. Having had little or no experience with diphtheria, the doctors unanimously declared that it was caused by "bad air" and was definitely not contagious. Then, after observing that these epidemics were similar in that children were the victims and sore throat was the chief complaint, they decided that both were caused by one and the same disease. To explain why it was so alarmingly fatal in New Hampshire and so surprisingly mild in Boston, they concluded that the atmosphere was more healthy in Boston, their patients were physically superior, and, last but by no means least, Boston doctors were better doctors. Their theory was that the disease was naturally accompanied by a rash, and a physician had only to prescribe the kind of treatment which would allow the "morbifick matter" within the body to reach the surface, evaporate through the pores, and thereby produce the rash. The rash, therefore, was the proof of successful treatment. In New Hampshire very few patients had rashes, and fatalities were about sixty percent; in Boston nearly every patient had a "laudable and salutary" rash, and fatalities were

about two percent. It was a wonderful and comforting theory—for the Boston doctors.

This theory that scarlet fever (or "canker rash") was fundamentally the same disease as diphtheria (or "canker"), though originally founded on false conclusions and conceit, nevertheless makes it difficult to evaluate the severity of these diseases, and particularly scarlet fever, in subsequent colonial records. Not only was no attempt made to differentiate them, but also the two diseases so frequently coexisted that it is difficult to find many epidemics of unquestionable scarlet fever for study. But with the exception of the easily frightened Cotton Mather, who said that scarlet fever was dreadful, dangerous, violent, and mortal (perhaps it was in 1702–1704), all other early eighteenth-century sources reveal that it was not a very severe disease. Besides the convincing records of the Massachusetts epidemic of 1735–1736, Cadwallader Colden of New York intimated that it was relatively mild; and Jonathan Dickinson said that in New Jersey it was "not very dangerous: I have seldom seen any die with it, unless by a sudden Looseness, that calls in the Eruptions; or by some very irregular Treatment."[59] Parson Smith of Falmouth, mentioning an epidemic of "the Rash" in April, 1753, remarked: "Thank God, it is in so few instances mortal."[60]

There are not many records of even isolated cases of scarlet fever between 1753 and 1770, but during the last three decades of the century the disease apparently became increasingly common, and there are not only records of numerous epidemics but also a few very good clinical descriptions. The first of these was Lionel Chalmers's account of an epidemic in Georgia and South Carolina during 1770.[61] Chalmers described what seemed to him an alarming disease with chills, fever, vomiting, delirium, sore throat, and scarlet rash, followed by desquamation and painful swollen extremities; he added, however, that most of his patients recovered. He had not seen any similar cases for over eighteen years. This could not have been a new disease in South Carolina because most of his patients were under fifteen years of age, and, of the few adults who were sick, nearly all had sore throats without eruptions—an indication of some degree of immunity from previous exposure.

The first good evidence of severe scarlet fever in New England is the newspaper account of a Duxbury epidemic during the spring of 1771. It is worth noting that this, too, was primarily a childhood disease; which

[59] *Observations on the Throat-Distemper*, 3.

[60] *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane*, 151.

[61] Chalmers, *Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina*, II. 207.

is indirect evidence that scarlet fever had been more or less prevalent in New England from 1753 to 1771, even though very few records have been found.

Duxboro, July 5, 1771

A very malignant *putrid Fever* has, for some Time past, much prevailed in this Town; about 150 Persons, chiefly Children, having had it in the Course of a few Months; to a considerable Proportion of whom it has proved fatal. More especially of late its Malignity has very much increased. And in one Family in particular, (Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth's) five Children out of Six have died of it in the short Space of a Week; the only one surviving being now dangerously sick.—This Fever seems to differ from what has been usually called the *Scarlet Fever* only in Point of Malignity; the Appearances in those who have it favourably being in all Respects the same. It is remarkable that though it has made its Appearance in every Part of this Town, scarce a Family or Person in any of the neighbouring Towns have as yet been visited with it.[62]

The deaths of five Wadsworth and three Soule children in Duxbury during May and June, 1771, and of three Fuller children from "canker rash" in East Haven, Connecticut, during 1773[63] suggest a malignant type of scarlet fever, one capable of causing multiple deaths. But one must be cautious in accepting multiple deaths alone as evidence of severity because diphtheria, the most common cause of multiple deaths, was still breaking out here and there, and hence these children may have had both diseases. Moreover, the report states that those who had it "favourably" had a disease just like scarlet fever. This makes one wonder whether those who had it unfavorably may not have had something else. If one assumes, however, that scarlet fever was the only disease in Duxbury, it seems that it had been mild up to 1771, when it suddenly appeared "very malignant." Even so, there is good evidence that it was still less fatal than diphtheria. Jacob Ogden, for instance, in his account of "Malignant Sore Throat" as it appeared in the vicinity of Jamaica, New York, in 1774, had this to say about scarlet fever:

Sometimes, especially near the Equinoxes, the Disease is attended with Eruptions, commonly called a *Rash*. In this Species, the Symptoms previous to the Eruptions are generally more violent, often attended with a burning Fever, great Anxiety, a Diarrhœa or Flux, Delirium, &c. until the Eruptions are fully out.—This is not so dangerous as the former, especially if the Efflorescence or Eruptions appear before the third Day.[64]

[62] *Essex Gazette*, July 16, 1771.

[63] *Vital Records of Duxbury*, 420–424, 430–433; Stephen Dodd, *East Haven Register* (New Haven, 1910), 88.

[64] John N. Hutchins, *Hutchin's Improved: Being an Almanack and Ephemeris for 1775* (New York, 1774), [28].

There was an epidemic in Dighton, Massachusetts, about 1773; another in Philadelphia during 1774; and there are a few scattered references to cases or deaths in New England during 1775 and 1776. There were also epidemics among Montgomery's and Arnold's troops at Quebec in 1776, but the accounts throw very little light on the nature of the disease.[65]

The lack of references to scarlet fever between 1776 and 1783 does not necessarily mean that the disease was absent or even rare because, as has been shown, most scarlet-fever-free periods were followed by epidemics in which adults were usually immune. But if the disease was present during this period, at least it can be said that it did not cause much concern. Between 1783 and 1791, however, the marked increase in both lay and medical records concerning scarlet fever suggests that it was exceedingly common; and there was at least one sizable epidemic in every state from Maine to Maryland. A 1786 newspaper stated that "the throat-disease . . . for more than two years past has prevailed in the Eastern states, and proved fatal to vast numbers of children." [66] This could not have been diphtheria entirely, because the item goes on to say that in the Attleborough and Rehoboth epidemics none of the patients died. The Sutton vital records reveal a death from "Canker Rash" in 1784, 1785, and 1786. Elsewhere there were epidemics during two successive winters. In places where adequate records were kept it appears that the disease was present for a good part of the time. In Philadelphia, for example, there were numerous cases almost every year from 1783 to 1791.[67] In Vermont, too, from 1783 to 1790, the disease was "very prevalent almost the whole time, but in different places in different periods of the term." [68]

It is difficult to draw any blanket conclusion about the severity of scarlet fever during this period, for the records vary considerably, depending upon the place and time. Noah Webster, in one article, stated that during 1784 scarlet fever "fell lightly" on the western part of Connecticut "but was more severe in the eastern towns, and in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island." In another article he stated that the disease "was

[65] *Medical Papers Communicated to the Massachusetts Medical Society* (Boston, 1790), I. 41; Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 260; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XX (January, 1897), 506 (diary of Lieutenant Francis Nichols).

[66] *Massachusetts Spy*, February 9, 1786.

[67] Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations* (Philadelphia, 1789), 101, 109; *American Museum*, VII. 119.

[68] Joseph A. Gallup, *Sketches of Epidemic Diseases in the State of Vermont* (Boston, 1815), 34.

not severe in general and many towns wholly escaped its attacks." [69]

Thus, in the absence of any figures or definitely reliable statements, one must consult the clinical accounts to obtain some idea of the nature of the disease. In his description of the epidemic which started in Philadelphia and later spread to New Jersey, New York, Delaware, and Maryland (1783–1784), Benjamin Rush mentioned such complications as middle-ear disease, swelling behind the ears (mastoiditis?), troublesome sores on the ends of the fingers (paronychia?), rheumatism, and dropsy of the limbs, abdomen, and thorax, all of which together indicate a fairly severe variety of the disease. In fact, with candid lack of modesty, Rush claimed that when his method of treatment was not followed, the disease was often fatal. Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, in his bill of mortality for Salem (1783),[70] listed six deaths from scarlet fever, four of them from a complicating "Anasarca," which is good evidence that the disease was sometimes severe in New England too. No details are at present available for the epidemics in Providence, Newport (1783–1784), Lyme, Middletown, Charleston (1784), or Sterling (1786).[71] But Dr. Gallup said that between 1787 and 1790 the disease was "very fatal" in many places in Vermont and that it "severely affected the inhabitants of the western part of New Hampshire."

It is more than probable that some of the deaths attributed to scarlet fever during this period should really be attributed to a combination of diseases. Hall Jackson's account of an epidemic that extended from northern Massachusetts to southern Maine during 1784–1785 is conclusive proof that scarlet fever epidemics were still complicated by diphtheria.[72] Though one can read a few cases of diphtheria into nearly all eighteenth-century accounts of scarlet fever, this one in particular is most confusing unless both diseases are borne in mind. Jackson was undoubtedly dealing primarily with a fairly severe scarlet fever, but his clear, concise descriptions of palatal paralysis and fatal laryngitis prove that diphtheria caused some of the deaths because these complications never occur in scarlet fever. From a purely scientific standpoint his account is therefore valueless, but he

[69] *Medical Repository*, IV (2d ed., New York, 1808), 340; *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 273.

[70] *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, I (Boston, 1785), 550.

[71] Israel Allen, *A Treatise on the Scarlatina Anginosa, and Dysentery; and Sketches on Febrile Spasm, as produced by Plogiston* (Leominster, 1796), 36 (Sterling). The other epidemics are mentioned in Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 273, or *Medical Repository*, IV (2nd ed., New York, 1808), 343.

[72] [Hall Jackson], *Observations and Remarks on the Putrid Malignant Sore-Throat, which has mortally raged for many years past. By a Gentleman of the Faculty* (Portsmouth, 1786), *passim*.

nevertheless made some interesting observations. He noted, for instance, that many women died from puerperal fever just before the epidemic began. He called his epidemic "Putrid Malignant Sore-Throat" because the sloughs in the throat caused a putrid odor to the breath. He distinguished this from old-fashioned "throat distemper" on the basis of a lower fatality rate, but naturally an epidemic of both scarlet fever and diphtheria would have a lower fatality rate than an epidemic of diphtheria alone. He also distinguished his epidemic from the disease "commonly called the Scarlet Fever" (this, by the way, is proof in itself that scarlet fever was common before 1784) on the ground that "an efflorescence always appears in the Scarlet Fever," and many of his patients did not have rashes, and some had had scarlet fever previously. Jackson was, on the whole, correct in distinguishing diphtheria from scarlet fever on the basis of a rash, but he did not realize that a second attack of scarlet fever, particularly in an adult who had had the disease in childhood, would not produce a rash.

William Baylies's description of an epidemic of "Ulcerated Sore Throat" in Dighton, Massachusetts, during 1785 and 1786,[73] though not startling, is one of the best accounts of scarlet fever during this period, especially since he did not include any purely diphtheritic signs or symptoms. Though he was unable to prove it in all instances, he maintained, as did Hall Jackson, that the disease was "evidently contagious." It seems a pity that this opinion did not carry more weight, for had it been accepted, American medicine could have been spared a lot of foolish arguments later on. Baylies included a few brief but choice descriptions of various complications, including suppurating glands, acute rheumatism, and universal edema. He was the first American writer, so far as I know, to associate this universal dropsy with the urinary system: "At this time they made but little water." He did not call the disease "scarlet fever," chiefly, I suppose, because half of the afflicted adults did not have rashes. The article is useful in interpreting subsequent records because it shows that "ulcerated sore throat" was no longer reserved for diphtheria but was even applied to uncomplicated scarlet fever.

In contrast to the evidence indicating that scarlet fever was a severe disease are the Attleborough and Rehoboth records of epidemics without deaths, and also the Philadelphia records of 1791, which say that the disease "seldom proved fatal."[74] It may be significant also that so far no instances of multiple deaths from scarlet fever have been found for the

[73] *Medical Papers Communicated to the Massachusetts Medical Society* (Boston, 1790), Number I, 41–48.

[74] *American Museum*, IX. 119–120.

period 1783 to 1791. The most one can say is that in general the clinical accounts show a fairly severe variety of the disease at times, but apparently the average case fatality rates were not very alarming.

A study of the records from 1792 to 1798 shows a still greater increase in both prevalence and severity, or at least many more notes pointing in this direction can be found. But even in spite of more detailed descriptions, the confusion that surrounds all eighteenth-century accounts of scarlet fever becomes more confounded as the century closes. By this time Benjamin Rush, the most influential teacher in this country, had succeeded in reviving Sydenham's doctrine of "epidemic constitutions" and particularly emphasized that "no two contagious fevers of unequal force can exist long together in the same place." Rush described epidemics of scarlet fever and chicken pox as though they had a common cause. Naturally, therefore, lesser men were ready to believe that such superficially similar diseases as diphtheria and scarlet fever must have been related. The complex and inaccurate classification of diseases by Professor William Cullen of Glasgow was also widely respected in this country. It remained only for Noah Webster to group all sorts of diseases together in order to show that all epidemics could be traced to atmospheric disturbances, earthquakes, or volcanoes. This period could be called the dissertation decade of medical history; and since scarlet fever received its fair share of attention from students who were candidates for degrees, a few facts on the character and epidemiology of the disease are revealed. But the emphasis was mostly on theory, and students debated whether the disease was "inflammatory," requiring antiphlogistic treatment such as bleeding and purging, or whether it was "putrid," requiring antiseptic treatment such as tonics and stimulants, particularly quinine. Whether the disease was directly contagious from person to person or caused by "contaminated air" was still a serious unsolved question. Three types of the disease were recognized. First was the relatively mild *scarlatina simplex*, a few writers maintaining that not even a sore throat was necessary in this variety. This type was seen in every epidemic.[75] Apparently the most common type was the so-called *scarlatina anginosa*, or those cases with white or ash-colored ulcers in the throat. Also mentioned by most authors was the fulminating *scarlatina maligna*, characterized by intense prostration, sustained high fever, almost constant delirium, excessive vomiting or diarrhea or both, sometimes purpuric spots or profuse hemorrhages, generally causing death within the first week. These were the cases that were confused with diphtheria be-

[75] In passing, it is worth mentioning that both William Baylies and Willett Taylor, Jr., observed generalized edema as a complication in some of the relatively mild cases.

cause of the extensive membrane in the throat and because a few patients failed to show a rash. There was no sharp line of demarcation between the various types; consequently one finds *scarlatina maligna, angina maligna, cynanche maligna,* and "canker rash" used as synonymous terms. Indeed, Matthias H. Williamson, who wrote one of the best articles on the disease,[76] refused to differentiate the types because, as he said, no one could do it in practice, and besides there were already enough diseases! All told, the resulting confusion makes contemporaneous material difficult to interpret, and only by disregarding terminology and paying strict attention to clinical descriptions and case fatality rates can one make sense out of the accounts of various epidemics.

Noah Webster, probably influenced by an account of a small epidemic in Bethlehem, Connecticut, where no deaths occurred out of seven or eight cases, described the scarlet fever of 1792 as "mild"; but Willett Taylor's account of an epidemic in New York[77] reveals a moderately severe disease. During the following winter, and particularly during the spring of 1793, malignant scarlet fever was reported in New England, New York, and Philadelphia. According to Rush,[78] the Philadelphia epidemic from February to August reached its peak in July "with symptoms of great violence." Six patients died in one parish in Morristown, New Jersey.[79] In New York City there was "great mortality," and in some cases at Red Hook "the paroxysms invaded the patient in the form of madness."[80] Connecticut records vary considerably. There were no deaths during an epidemic in Hartford from April to May, nor any among "several cases of ulcerous sore throat" in New Haven. But the disease was said to have been "very mortal" at New Fairfield, and other deaths occurred at Branford, Fairfield, Middletown, Preston, and Stonington.[81] The few available details concerning the disease in Massachusetts and Vermont are insignificant.

[76] *An Inaugural Dissertation on the Scarlet Fever* (Philadelphia, 1793).

[77] *An Inaugural Dissertation on the Scarlatina Anginosa, As It Prevailed in This City* (New York, 1793).

[78] *An Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever* (Edinburgh, 1796), 14.

[79] *The Record of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown, N.J.*, II (August, 1881), 159.

[80] Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 298.

[81] One death is recorded in Branford. "Burials in Branford South Society" (MS., Conn. Historical Society). There were two deaths in December in Middletown from "Disorder of the Times, Scarlet Fever, cold &c." Middletown First Society Records. The Stonington First Congregational Church Records (MS., Conn. State Library) list seven deaths from February to October. For Preston, see *First Church in Preston*, 1900, 167 (Bailey II).

It was said that during 1794 scarlet fever raged "all over the country," but my material concerns only Connecticut,[82] where there were epidemics in Bethlehem, Branford, Bolton, Cheshire, East Haven, Hamden, Hartford, Lebanon, Preston, and Woodbridge. The epidemic in New Haven between January and July seems to have caused the most alarm. Ezra Stiles speaks of the fear that spread among the students at Yale when a freshman died after two days of "Angina Ulcerosa"; and in April the faculty finally yielded to the demands of the students and voted to close the college. By April 10 a committee of physicians, in a statement published to offset the exaggerated reports that had spread throughout the state, said that out of 290 cases "only eight have died. The malignancy of the disease has abated, and its symptoms appear comparatively mild." By July, however, there was a different story because forty-three had died of "malignant Scarlet Fever." After the epidemic was over, it was found that 52 died out of 750 cases—a case fatality rate of 6.9 percent. A broadside published in October described the disease as "very mortal."

These New Haven figures make it appear that scarlet fever in Connecticut during 1794 was a rather severe disease; but Dr. Thaddeus Clark of Lebanon, writing of the disease in eastern Connecticut, said: "It is well known, that the *Scarlatina Anginosa,* in these parts, in the spring, summer and autumn of 1794 . . . was generally of the mild, more simple inflammatory kind." He quoted other doctors as saying: "a Doctor is a fool that loses patients in the Canker Rash."[83] This discrepancy in the accounts of the same disease in the same state in the same year is a good example of the marked variations of the disease or of a difference in diagnostic standards. The latter is supported by the Bethlehem records, which say that "Many who now [1794] had the disorder, had had it in 1793"; and the same account mentions diphtheria *(cynanche trachealis)* in 1792. Therefore one must at least consider the possibility that some diphtheria was present, particularly in those regions where the case fatality rates were high.

During 1795 there were scarlet fever deaths in at least sixteen Massachusetts towns.[84] The Boston epidemic began in the spring. At least

[82] *Connecticut Courant*, April 14, July 21, September 1, 1794; Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 298–310; Dodd, *East Haven Register*, 99 (nine deaths from "canker rash"); "Bolton Church Records," *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LVI. 162, 347 (seven deaths); *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Franklin B. Dexter, Editor (New York, 1901), III. 514–520; Thaddeus Clark, *A Treatise on the Scarlatina Anginosa* (Norwich, 1795), 44; Lebanon First Society Records (MS., Conn. State Library: six deaths from "canker rash" between August, 1794, and April, 1795).

[83] *A Treatise on the Scarlatina Anginosa* (Norwich, 1795), 40, 44.

[84] Ashburnham, Beverly (McKeen family, three deaths, Rimmons family, two deaths, Thomson family, three deaths), Boston, Groton, Harvard, Ipswich, King-

seventeen died in Beverly, and eleven in Topsfield. In Sterling between March 1, 1795, and April 18, 1796, there were 8 deaths out of 150 cases, or a case fatality rate of 5.3 percent. Twenty-one died in Marblehead during 1796.[85]

Beginning early in 1796 and continuing through 1797, the disease seems to have been severe in the small towns of Vermont. Dr. Gallup described epidemics causing 20 to 25 deaths in towns of 150 families. It was mostly confined to children, though it also attacked some old people who had had it during childhood. There seems little doubt that the case fatality rate was high, but, as in so many other accounts, here also are some indications of diphtheria. Gallup said that some of the cases terminated in "difficult respiration" and "some cases had no vestige of eruption."

During 1796 and 1797 the disease was also prevalent in New Hampshire, particularly at Portsmouth and Hanover. During the winter of 1797–1798 there were cases reported from nearly every town in Cumberland County, Maine, and it was "mortal in many instances." Dr. Jeremiah Barker of Portland, Maine, lost two out of fifty cases, or a case fatality rate of 4 percent.[86]

In spite of diverse and apparently contradictory material concerning scarlet fever in the eighteenth century, certain broad generalizations can be made. Epidemics appear to have occurred in waves, with long interim periods during which little was said about the disease. At each reappearance, however, adults were generally immune, showing that the disease had at no time entirely disappeared, and in support of this conclusion one finds in almost every account some such statement as "commonly called a scarlet fever," as if every layman had been long familiar with it. There are three reasons for supposing that as the century progressed a malignant type of scarlet fever appeared with increasing frequency. The earliest available statistics show a case fatality rate of about two percent, whereas the last statistics show a rate of about six percent. William Douglass in 1736 described some fulminating cases, but in view of his statistics and comments they seem to have been rare, whereas these cases were more frequently described in the closing decade. It is in the last decade, too, that one finds most of the multiple deaths attributed to "canker rash." I have found sixteen instances of two deaths in a family and three instances of three deaths in a family. This is a far cry from the wholesale instances of

ston, Leominster, Marblehead, Spencer, Sterling, Sturbridge, Sutton, Topsfield (Cree family, three deaths), Weymouth, and Woburn.

[85] *Columbian Centinel*, January 18, 1797.

[86] *Medical Repository*, II (3d ed., New York, 1805), 141.

multiple deaths during diphtheria epidemics, yet it is additional evidence of a more virulent type of scarlet fever. But the most important fact of all is that in dealing with scarlet fever all clinical accounts and all statistics should be somewhat discounted because of the confusion with diphtheria. To separate these two diseases now, when eighteenth-century doctors themselves made no attempt to separate them, is at best a difficult task. At times it is impossible.

Whooping Cough

The name "chin cough," commonly used for this disease in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was said to have been derived from either *kind* ("child") or *kink* ("gasp"), but it is also possible that it came from *quinta*, the name used by Baillou in his original description of an epidemic (1578). Baillou did not know how the disease acquired that name, but possibly it had the same derivation as *quinsy* and was first used to mean a choking or a strangling cough.

In dealing with early fragmentary records it is well to bear in mind some possible errors in diagnosis. Other diseases sometimes passed for "chin cough." During the great diphtheria epidemic in Haverhill (1736) one child was said to have died from "chin cough & throat distemper." This case, in view of the tendency of inexperienced laymen to confuse whooping cough and croup, must be classified as doubtful. Similarly, the Reverend Thomas Smith maintained that both he and his wife had the disease in August, 1786, and again in December, 1787, which is hardly possible. On the other hand, whooping cough may have passed for other diseases. It is very likely that some epidemics of "very deep colds among children" were epidemics of real whooping cough, and though this is mere conjecture, the possibility may explain the paucity of early records.

Until one stops to consider that whooping cough, because of its hemorrhagic manifestations, was an alarming disease of childhood and its importation could have been easily controlled, it seems strange that references to epidemics before 1750 should be so scarce. The earliest were at Scituate and Barnstable and were occasions for "days of humiliation":

> June, 10. 1641 . . . for y^e^ healing of a bloodye Coffe amonge children especially at Plimouth . . .
>
> November 15, 1649 . . . God's hand beeing uppon us by Sicknesses & disease many Children in the Bey dyeing bye the Chin cough & the pockes . . .
>
> December 10, 1649. In regard of our owne particulars, very many amongst us beeing visitted with colds and coughes in a strange manner especially children theire coughing constraineing casting & bleeding att y^e^ nose & mouth, & principal-

ly in regard of my self beeing brought very low by the cough & stitch in my left side, by reason whereof I was detained from Ministery seven weekes, but our God was intreated to shew mercye.[87]

There was a more extensive epidemic in 1659. The younger John Winthrop mentioned cases of "hoping cough" and "great hooping cough" in Hartford.[88] "In this same month of December," wrote John Hull, "the young children of this town [Boston], and sundry towns hereabout, were much afflicted with a very sore whooping-cough: some few died of it."[89] The records are a little confusing at this point, for the Reverend Samuel Danforth of Roxbury wrote: "9^{m} & 10^{m} [1659]. The Lord sent a general visitation of Children by coughs & colds, of w^{ch} my 3 children Sarah, Mary & Elisabeth Danforth died, all of y^{m} within y^{e} space of a fortnight."[90] These children probably did not die from whooping cough, however, for not only were multiple deaths exceedingly rare from this disease, but also there is some evidence of a diphtheria epidemic at this time, and Danforth may have failed to differentiate the two diseases.

I have no other records of whooping cough epidemics until 1738, an interval of nearly eighty years, which cannot be attributed to lack of records entirely, because in neither the Sewall nor the Mather diaries is whooping cough even mentioned. Thomas Robie jotted down in his medical notebook (1711–1715) some remedies "For Children's Convulsive Cough . . . y^{e} Hooping Cough of Children, w^{ch} is also termed y^{e} Chin Cough," but he merely copied Sydenham's instructions and gave no evidence of first-hand experience.[91]

The next epidemics of which I am aware occurred in Connecticut and South Carolina. Joshua Hempstead entered in his diary on August 7, 1738: "an Infant of Sam^{ll} Moseyers buried Died Last night with the Hooping Cough which is very Common in y^{e} Town. it hath been in y^{e} farms al Sum^{r}."[92] There was another large epidemic in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1738,[93] which may have had some relation to the New London epidemic, since both towns were important points of call in colonial coastwise traffic.

Another possible epidemic in New London during August, 1746, when

[87] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, x. 38.

[88] Medical Records (MS., M.H.S.).

[89] *Trans. & Coll. A.A.S.*, III. 190.

[90] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxiv. 87.

[91] MS., M.H.S.

[92] *Diary of Joshua Hempstead (Collections of the New London County Historical Society)*, I. 338.

[93] Chalmers, *Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina*, II. 161.

a two-year-old child died "it is said from whooping cough," and another "violent cough common among children" at Hanover, Massachusetts,[94] during September, 1748, complete the record of epidemics before 1750.

During the second half of the eighteenth century there appears to have been considerable variation in the prevalence of whooping cough, depending somewhat on the density of population and intercommunity traffic. In the best medical description of the disease Lionel Chalmers said that there had been only three epidemics in South Carolina previous to 1776. These were in 1738, 1759, and 1765. He also said that the disease had been "brought hither from other parts, its approach having always been heard of before it appeared amongst us." In Philadelphia, however, the records of two Episcopal parishes comprising less than a tenth of the population show whooping cough deaths in twelve out of twenty-five years (1751–1775), with never more than two successive years without at least one death.[95] The Presbyterian Church records of Morristown, New Jersey, show considerably fewer deaths: one in 1769, two in 1775, one in 1778, two in 1783, one in 1785, and four in 1791.[96] In New England, although one finds very few references to epidemics in newspapers and only an occasional mention in diaries and letters, remedies for the disease appeared periodically in almanacs, and the vital records of various towns show that it was fairly common. With few exceptions all references fall during certain epidemic periods lasting one to three years and separated by fairly definite intervals: 1758–1759, 1765–1766, 1770–1771, 1777–1779, 1782–1783, 1786–1788, 1791–1792, and 1795–1796. Epidemics appear to have been most erratic in their progress. Widely separated towns were involved in the same year, while neighboring towns were involved in successive years. There was no significant seasonal variation, though epidemics were slightly more frequent during summer months.

While little was said about whooping cough in general terms, probably

[94] L. Vernon Briggs, *History and Records of the First Congregational Church, Hanover, Mass.*, I (Boston, 1895), 184.

[95] Various churches in Philadelphia published their births and burials as broadsides at the close of each year. The Library Company of Philadelphia has a fairly complete file beginning with Christ Church Parish for 1747. After 1763 the figures for Christ Church and St. Peter's were combined. The full title for 1768, for example, reads: *An Account of the Births and Burials in the United Churches of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia, from December 25, 1767, to December 25, 1768. By Caleb Cash, and William Young, Clerks, and James Weyley, and George Stokes, Sextons.*

[96] *The Record of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown, N.J.*, I (March, 1880) 23, (June, 1880) 47, (December, 1880) 95; II (February, 1881) 111, (April, 1881) 127, (July, 1881) 151.

because it was mild in comparison with other epidemic diseases, a few statements reveal its serious nature. The *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of December 25, 1769, describing an epidemic in Montreal, said that it was "at present extremely fatal to the children." Chalmers called it a "dangerous and obstinate complaint"; and it was "very violent in many instances" in Philadelphia during 1791.[97] However, the disease apparently seldom caused any great alarm, the Boston epidemic of 1765, for example, being mentioned in the newspapers only incidental to a note on the use of maple sugar—which was "as pleasant to the Taste as any other Sugar, and the Makers insist that it is medicinal, and very proper to give to Children for the Chin-Cough, at this Time very prevalent among us."[98] Moreover, it seldom caused multiple deaths. Aside from the questionable cases mentioned in the Danforth records (1659), the only other multiple deaths found so far were those of two of Joseph Tufts' children in Medford during 1796.[99] Also the case fatality rate was relatively low, for only one or two deaths occurred during most of the epidemics in small towns. But occasionally, particularly when epidemics coincided with epidemics of other diseases, the net result was startling. The worst epidemic so far encountered occurred in Salem during 1770, when there were thirty-seven "chin-cough" deaths in a population of about five thousand. Even the Salem newspapers had nothing to say about this epidemic except to print a remedy consisting of sweetened extract of colt's foot *(tussilago farfara)*, which had been found to "cure in two or three Days." The bill of mortality for 1770, however, shows some "throat distemper" in the town, which may have contributed to this unusual mortality.[100] Indeed, "canker" seems to have been a not infrequent complication throughout this period, for it was mentioned as a contributory cause of death in other towns such as East Bridgewater (1770), Sutton (1771), Middletown (1777), and Ipswich (1787).[101] Thomas Smith wrote in his diary on October 25, 1786: "The whooping cough continues and with a dreadful cankerous disorder." Whooping cough being a long-drawn-out affair, afflicted children were apt to pick up other contagious diseases before they had a chance to recover. Chalmers mentioned fatal

[97] *American Museum*, x. 59.

[98] *Boston Evening-Post*, July 8, 1765.

[99] *Vital Records of Medford*, 440–449; Charles Brooks, *History of Medford* (Boston, 1855), 450.

[100] *Essex Gazette*, June 19, 1770, January 1, 1771.

[101] *Vital Records of East Bridgewater* (Edson); *Vital Records of Sutton* (Hutchinson); Middletown First Society Records (Richardson); *Vital Records of Ipswich* (Burnham).

diarrhea as a complication; and Holyoke listed seven deaths from "Chin cough combined with Dysentery and Cholera Dysenterica" during the Salem epidemic of 1782. In Middletown three children died from "Measles and Chin-Cough" during the epidemic of 1783.

There were at least three fatal cases of "Consumption which followed the Whooping Cough," but in spite of the prevalence of tuberculosis this "consumption" may have meant any one of a number of complications. "Fever & Chincough," which occurs frequently in the death records, undoubtedly included cases with secondary pneumonia, though this complication was seldom if ever mentioned by name. One of the most frequent causes of death was "chin cough & convulsion fitts." In a letter from Boston dated September 23, 1782, Dr. Nathaniel W. Appleton said: "The chin-cough still continues—many have died in convulsions";[102] and in May, 1786, Dr. Holyoke said that "several of the younger patients were seized with convulsions, and a few carried off by them."[103]

The incidence of the disease among adults was fairly high, though apparently not so high as with measles. Chalmers said that it "did not spare anyone who had not passed through it before," and Holyoke added that several adults "suffered severely by it" during the 1786 epidemic in Salem. Inasmuch as there had been at least two previous epidemics in Salem (1770, 1782), one may conclude that most of these adults lived in isolated districts. But in spite of these references to adult cases, whooping cough must have been fairly common even in small towns, for most sources reveal that it was then, as now, predominantly a disease of childhood. Then also, as now, it was most fatal among infants. Out of one hundred deaths fifty occurred during the first year of life, and forty-one of these in the first six months.

Mumps

Mumps was known in this country at least as early as May, 1699, when John Marshall of Braintree entered in his diary: "I did not hear of any great matter which happened: only we had severall sick with an unusuall distemper called the mumps of which some weer bad. But none dyed, that I heard of."[104] Nicholas Gilman of Exeter was "exercised by the mumps"

[102] Nathaniel W. Appleton to Edward A. Holyoke (MS., Essex Institute).

[103] *Medical Papers Communicated to the Massachusetts Medical Society* (Boston, 1790), Number 1, 24, 25.

[104] 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1. 153. Winthrop mentioned a case of "mumpes" in 1657, but since mumps can be easily mistaken for other conditions it is necessary to have evidence of an epidemic before that diagnosis can be accepted without question.

in June, 1726.[105] According to Chalmers, there were epidemics of "Serous Quinsey" in South Carolina during 1744, 1768, "and at other times."[106] In 1777 there was an epidemic "of so-called Mumps, or badly swollen throat" among the Moravians of North Carolina:

[Salem, North Carolina] *April* 19 [1777]. Br. Preazel went to Bethania, and will hold the services there tomorrow, as since Monday Br. Ernst has not been able to leave his room on account of trouble with his feet. A certain disease is epidemic in that neighborhood, which they call Mumps; persons get a big swelling on the throat, and with others it affects the limbs.[107]

Two months later several brethren were still being "annoyed" in Salem, and at Nazareth Hall "not one of our Brethren, boys or children" escaped.[108] According to Rush, there were epidemics of "cynanche parotidea" in Philadelphia during the winters of 1786-1787 and 1792-1793.[109] The disease was also casually mentioned in the Holyoke (1763) and Patten (1776) diaries. One death from "mumps" was reported in Westborough in 1755[110] and another in Philadelphia in 1782.[111]

Impaired only by the inclusion of swollen axillary and inguinal glands, Chalmers's otherwise excellent account, wherein was mentioned involvement of the testicles and permanent immunity, was the only medical description of this disease published previous to 1800. Dr. Alexander King of Suffield had written an excellent account in his diary in 1784 but it was never printed.

Chicken Pox

Chicken pox is one of those diseases which were probably very well known to laymen long before medical men got around to writing them up in their books. Much has been made of the so-called "first" description by Dr. William Heberden of London in 1767, but good evidence that the disease was well known even in America long before Heberden's time

[105] Clifford K. Shipton, personal communication.

[106] *Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina*, II. 99.

[107] *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Adelaide L. Fries, Editor, III (Raleigh, 1926), 1148.

[108] *Id.*, 1152, 1411.

[109] *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, 109; *Account of the Bilious remitting Yellow Fever*, 13.

[110] Parkman diary (MS., American Antiquarian Society), January 9, 1755.

[111] *An Account of the Births and Burials in the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's* [Philadelphia, 1783].

is contained in a charming, gossipy letter written by a twelve-year-old boy in East Windsor, Connecticut, on May 10, 1716. Informing his sister Mary, who was away at school, of all the newsworthy events of the neighborhood, he continued:

Abigail Hannah and Lucy have had the Chicken Pox and are recovered but jerusha has it now but is almost well I myself Sometimes am much Troubled with the tooth ack but these two or three Last Days I have not Been troubled with it but verry little so far as i know the whole famaly is well except Jerusha . . .

Your Loving Brother JONATHAN E[DWARDS][112]

The reason chicken pox was only occasionally and casually mentioned[113] during the eighteenth century is that in comparison with other diseases it was very mild. Chalmers decided that it was "needless to say much" about it and gave it only a few lines. Naturally, because of the superfical similarity, it was occasionally confused with smallpox. Douglass said that during the "*Small-Pox* Time 1752, the *Chicken* or *Spurious Pox* was frequent, and sometimes passed for the *Small-Pox*, and some Persons have ineffectually been Inoculated from thence . . ."[114] A more serious error was recorded by Mrs. Mary (Vial) Holyoke in her diary for January 25, 1764: "Mr. [John] Appleton moved to the pest house with the small pox which proved to be Chicken Pox."[115] Another instance in which the two diseases were confused was recorded in 1788;[116] but since the average layman knew from bitter experience so much about the signs and symptoms of smallpox, indeed much more than the average doctor knows today, it is probable that this error did not occur very often. Only one instance of death from chicken pox has been found: a nine-months-old child died in Preston, Connecticut, on September 24, 1797.[117]

[112] Ola E. Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1940), 50.

[113] "Chicken or Swine Pox" was mentioned in the *Boston News-Letter*, July 24, 1721. Chicken pox was also mentioned by William Douglass in a letter to Colden, May 1, 1722; and in the Lynde diaries, June 2, 1733. "Swine Pox" (probably meaning chicken pox) occurs in John Ballantine's diary, April 7, 1761.

[114] *Summary*, II. 400.

[115] *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1856*, George F. Dow, Editor (Salem, 1911), 60.

[116] *Cases and Observations by the Medical Society of New-Haven County* (New Haven, 1788), 67.

[117] Records of the North Society of Preston (MS., Conn. Historical Society).

Dysentery

Bloody flux, once called the "most violent and dangerous of all American diseases," should not be confused with the disease sometimes called "Common Flux" in Massachusetts or "Lax" in Pennsylvania, though in many records it is impossible to differentiate them. The latter disease, or nonspecific diarrhea, was seldom serious except among infants. Though occasionally mentioned in colonial records, it apparently did not receive much attention until described by Benjamin Rush in 1773. In the remaining years of the eighteenth century, as towns became more populous, summer diarrhea among infants was mentioned more frequently; but not until the nineteenth century, with its crowded cities, contaminated milk and water supplies, and poor sewage systems, did "cholera infantum" or "summer complaint" reach its peak. It is also important and equally difficult to differentiate bloody flux from typhoid fever because these two diseases had the same seasonal distribution, both produced gastro-intestinal symptoms, and both occurred in epidemic form. And here, too, one cannot find many good records of unquestionable typhoid fever until late in the eighteenth century unless one is willing to accept as typhoid fever some of those cases of "long fever," "nervous fever," or "bilious fever" that occur so frequently in the early records. Of the three diseases, bloody flux is the easiest to identify because of the following characteristics: fever, bloody stools, short duration when fatal, relatively high case fatality rate, deaths not limited to infants, occurrence during warm weather, and communicability as shown by multiple deaths in the immediate environment. In colonial records concerning flux at least three, preferably four, of these characteristics should be required for a diagnosis of bacillary dysentery, but at the same time it should be realized that if one's postulates are too rigid, one will, because of inadequate details, overlook a good many widespread epidemics.

Dysentery is one disease that could have been easily imported because of its widespread distribution abroad and the unsanitary conditions aboard crowded ships. In fact, epidemics in this country can in many instances be directly traced to ships. In 1618 the *Neptune* and the *Treasurer* "brought a most pestilent disease (called the Bloody flux) which infected the whole colony [of Virginia]. That disease, notwithstanding all our former afflictions, was never known before amongst us."[118] Out of 180 passengers, "packed together like herrings" on the *William and Thomas*, bound for

[118] Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (Boston and New York, 1898), 282.

Jamestown in 1619, only 50 survived "the flux, and also the want of fresh water."[119] In October, 1699, an "over-thronged" ship, fourteen weeks out of Liverpool, arrived at Philadelphia having lost fifty-six passengers from "Fevers, Flux and Jaundice."[120] In August, 1732, Colonel Robert Carter of Virginia, after three days of sickness, "died of the Flux, which 'tis supposed he caught on board a Vessel from which he bought several Negroes."[121] In 1738 the *St. Andrew*, bound for Philadelphia, "lost 160 persons; another that arrived the day before lost over 150 . . . another has arrived, in which out of 300, only 50 fares are left. They have mostly died from dysentery, skin sickness and inflammatory fever; . . . Many of the survivors die after landing, and thus diseases are brought into the country, so that many inhabitants and landlords become sick, are seized by the epidemic and quickly carried off."[122] On a ship from Rotterdam that was obliged to put in at Block Island in 1739, out of four hundred passengers only ninety survived "the exceeding bad Feavor and Flux" that prevailed on board.[123] Occasionally, unfavorable weather delayed some ships until the sick and starving passengers were reduced to eating rats. In Gottlieb Mittelberger's journal there are detailed descriptions of the appallingly unsanitary state of the ships carrying German settlers to Philadelphia in the mid-eighteenth century.[124]

Since bloody flux was so easily imported, it is not surprising to find records of many epidemics throughout the seventeenth century. In Virginia, by the eighth of September, 1618, there was "sickenesse over the Land." Three hundred settlers died in 1619. The population had increased to two thousand by 1621, but because of "contagious sicknesse; w^{ch} being encreased by the Infection brought in by some shipps, there dyed that year of mortallitie neare upon 600 more . . ."[125] Descriptions of the Massachusetts Bay Colony epidemic in 1630 are also rather indefinite,[126] but a

[119] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXX. 416*n.*

[120] *Penn. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, XXXVII (July, 1913), 330.

[121] *Boston Gazette*, August 28, 1732.

[122] *Penn. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LVI (January, 1932), 12.

[123] *Boston Gazette*, January 22, 1739.

[124] *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750* (Philadelphia, 1898).

[125] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), XIX. 133; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I. 159, 162–163.

[126] "And of the people who came over with us, from the time of their setting sail from *England*, in *April* 1630 until *December* following, there dyed by estimation about two hundred at the least . . . (of which mortality it may be said of us almost as of the *Egyptians*, that there is not an house where there is not one dead, and in some houses many) the natural causes seem to be, the want of warm lodging, and good

probable diagnosis of bloody flux is based on its occurrence during the summer, high case fatality rate, multiple deaths, and "lameness"—a dysentery complication first described by Sydenham in 1672. In some early records, however, "lameness" meant nothing more than "weakness."

"Fluxes and fevers [were] very dangerous" in Ipswich in 1640.[127]

Though John Hull's brief note concerning an epidemic of "flux and vomiting" among the children of Boston during September and October, 1657,[128] does not exclude so-called "summer complaint of infants," excellent evidence of the widespread distribution of dysentery about that time is found in a letter from John Davenport to John Winthrop dated New Haven, August 4, 1658:

> . . . in this sickly time when many are afflictively excercised, with grypings, vomitings, fluxes, agues and feavers, though more moderately in this Towne, by the mercy of God, then at Norwalke and Fairefield. Yong Mr. Allerton who lately came from the Dutch, saith, they are much more sorely visited there, then these parts are. It is said, that at Mashpeag [Newtown, Long Island] the inhabitants are generally so ill, that they are likely to lose theyre harvest, through want of ability to reape it.[129]

Davenport in 1660, Hull in 1661, and Megapolensis in 1668[130] refer to other epidemics of probable dysentery; and Hull and Danforth both mention the epidemic which occurred during the summer of 1669. Danforth wrote: "7^{m}. It was a very sickly time, many being visited with gripings, vomiting & flux, with a fever, which proved mortal to many infants & little children, esp'ly at Boston & Charlstown, and to some grown persons."[131]

Danforth mentioned another siege of "fluxes & vomiting at Boston" during September, 1671; and in 1672 Hull said that "Sundry persons died, in 7ber and 8ber, of voiding much blood and some worms,—persons of grown age and young men." Josselyn, in his *An Account of Two Voyages*

dyet, to which *English* men are habituated at home; and in the sudden increase of heat, which they endure that are landed here in summer . . ." Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, March 12, 1630/1, 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 41, 43.

"and Peple her ar subgecte to deicesesse for her haue deyeid of the skurueye and of the bur[n]inge feuer too hundreid and ode beseides maney leyethe lame and all sudberey men ar ded but thre and thee woomen and sume cheilldren."——Pond to William Pond, letter, March 15, 1630/1, *Winthrop Papers*, III. 18.

[127] Henry R. Viets, *A Brief History of Medicine in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1930), 37.

[128] *Trans. & Coll. A.A.S.*, III. 181.

[129] *Letters of John Davenport*, Isabel M. Calder, Editor (New Haven, 1937), 125.

[130] Claude E. Heaton, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XVII (January, 1945), 19.

[131] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXXIV. 300.

to New England (London, 1674), wrote that "griping of the belly (accompanied with Feavor and Ague) which turns to the bloody flux" was a common disease in New England and that it "together with the smallpox hath carried away abundance of their children." Increase Mather, writing of the 1676 epidemic of "fever & fluxes (especially in Boston)," said that fifty persons died during August, eleven of them within two days; but at the same time, according to Samuel Hooker, the "bloudy flux" was not so mortal in Hartford.[132]

In one of his letters, Wait Winthrop mentioned still another epidemic in Boston during September, 1684; and it appears that "flux" caused many deaths during the so-called "bilious plague" in Philadelphia between August and October, 1699.[133] A few months later a very unusual epidemic occurred in Bokton (Wilmington), Delaware:

> There came upon us with the beginning of this year [1700] a severe and contagious sickness, dysentery, which especially in Bokton and round about was very violent and many of our congregation died, but none on this side the creek. Those who finally lived through, remained afterwards, overwhelmed with all sorts of difficulties in their bodies, with pains and lameness which kept them down mostly till about Easter.[134]

Of the scores of dysentery epidemics before 1800, this was one of the very few to begin during cold weather, and the explanation may be that it was a continuation of the epidemic that started in Philadelphia the previous autumn. Dysentery was so decidely a disease of warm weather that even in towns where it was widespread during two successive years it usually disappeared during the intervening winter and spring. It is also interesting to note that the writer said that the disease was contagious. Countless lives could have been prolonged had this idea prevailed and simple quarantine precautions been taken as during smallpox epidemics. Such measures would have been more effective because dysentery is more easily controlled. But no one ever suspected "healthy" carriers of dysentery, and the contagion theory thus never gained much ground. It was a full century later before it even became a subject for serious debate.

The century closed with another severe epidemic in Boston.[135] In September, 1700, John Marshall wrote that "many persons dyed at Bos-

[132] 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XIII. 403; 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 337.

[133] 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 443; Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 211.

[134] *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington* (Wilmington, 1890), 76.

[135] 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 148. See also Cotton Mather's Diary, 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 365.

ton, especially children, of a bloody flux and feaver, and some dyed of it in the Country." No doubt many other epidemics are hidden in the records, but from the evidence at hand one may conclude that bloody flux was one of the most formidable and widespread diseases of the seventeenth century.

Eighteenth-century dysentery epidemics were far too numerous for detailed accounts and, besides, in most diaries and newspapers one can find only a few sentences concerning even some of the most malignant ones. Seldom did anyone stop to describe the disease, for it was apparently assumed that everyone knew exactly what was meant by "bloody flux." During the first third of the century there were many warm-weather epidemics accompanied by multiple deaths the causes of which, however, are still undetermined; but the diagnosis of dysentery is fairly well established for the rather severe outbreaks in Newark, 1704; Boston, 1711; South Carolina, 1715; New London, 1722; New York, 1731; and Virginia, 1732.[136]

A virulent dysentery swept through Boston in 1734. According to the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, August 29, 1734:

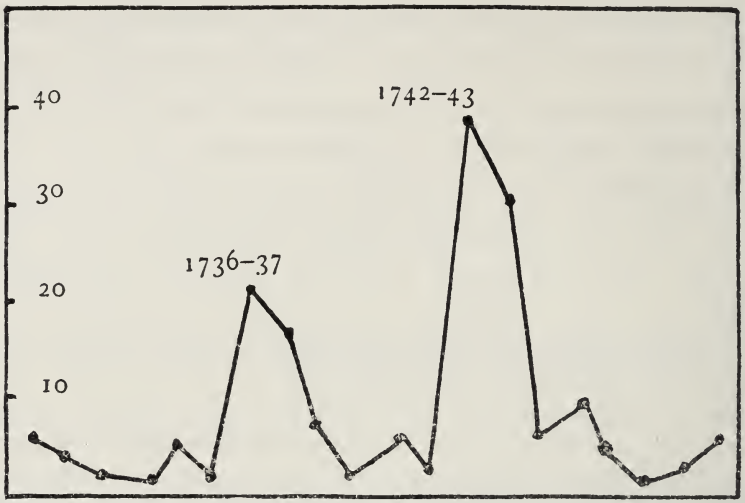
> After a Spring and Summer of extraordinary seasonable Weather, the like whereof scarce ever known, in these parts, as also a general measure of Health, it now, towards the close, begins to be very sickly, many both elder and younger Persons, being within a few Days taken down with a Fever and Flux, of which several have died after less than a Weeks Illness.

The sudden onset throughout the town makes it appear as though the infection had a common source. The most interesting item about this epidemic, however, is that an account of it, the first printed American account of the disease, appeared in the *Boston Gazette* of September 29, 1734. It was written by Dr. Thomas Harward, King's Lecturer at King's Chapel, and "Practitioner of Physic." Apparently he contributed the same article to "Medical Memoirs," the first number of a medical journal proposed by the first medical society in this country. Unfortunately, both items appear to have been lost.[137]

[136] For the Newark epidemic, see 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, III. 272; for that in Boston, see 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 105; for that in South Carolina, see *Boston News-Letter*, July 18, 1715; for that in New London, see Hempstead Diary, *Collections of the New London County Historical Society*, I. 125-126; for that in New York, see *American Weekly Mercury*, September 30, 1731; for that in Virginia, see William Byrd, *A Journey to the Land of Eden and Other Papers*, Mark Van Doren, Editor (New York, 1928), 322.

[137] William Douglass, writing to Cadwallader Colden on February 17, 1735/36, said that a medical society had been "lately" formed in Boston, and that a series of five articles, constituting the first number of "Medical Memoirs," was "now ready for the press." One article was entitled "A History of the Dysentery Epidemical in

A serious epidemic in East Haven, Connecticut, began in August, 1742, and, like many other dysentery epidemics, returned the following summer, causing altogether forty-three deaths in a population of about five hundred.[138] As illustrated in the graph, dysentery was sometimes more devastat-



East Haven, Conn., deaths, 1730–1749
Diphtheria 1736–37; dysentery 1742–43

Boston in 1734." 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, II. 188. Since *Medical Memoirs* is not mentioned in the standard bibliographies, some historians assume that it was never published.

The society published other medical items in the Boston newspapers: a questionnaire about "Angina Ulcusculosa frequently attended with an Eruptive Miliary Fever, Epidemical in New-England" (*Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, February 16, 1736; *Boston News-Letter*, February 19, 1736); an account of six children poisoned from eating thornapple seeds (*Boston Gazette*, October 2, 1738); and an account of an operation in Boston on a child suffering from stone in the bladder (*id.*, November 10, 1741). From their style these articles appear to have been written by Douglass. There are some interesting notes about the meetings of this "Physical Club" at the Sun Tavern during 1744 in *Hamilton's Itinerarium*, Albert B. Hart, Editor (St. Louis, 1907), 140, 142, 167.

The "Club of Physicians" mentioned at the time of the inoculation controversy (*Boston News-Letter*, August 28, 1721; *Boston Gazette*, September 4, 1721) was probably not a medical society in the true sense, but merely a group of "Anti-Inoculators" temporarily united for one specific purpose.

Dr. Harward's "Account of, and Observations on the reigning Flux" was mentioned in the *Boston Gazette* of September 16, 1734, as having been published in the previous issue. No copy of the issue of September 9, 1734, is now known to be in existence.

[138] Dodd, *East Haven Register*, 80.

ing than diphtheria. Here also are found the first good examples of dysentery multiple deaths: two children of Daniel Potter died on September 9; his wife and another child died on September 15; and a fourth child died on September 20. There were three deaths in both the Mallory and Moulthrop families, and two deaths each in the Austin, Roberts, Russell, and Smith families. A similar, though smaller, epidemic occurred at the same time (1742 and 1743) in East Hampton, Long Island.[139]

Cadwallader Colden said in 1745 that as long as he could remember, the northeast part of New York City had been subject to malignant dysenteries, especially among children.[140] It was said that in 1745 "the town of Stamford in Connecticut was severely distressed by a malignant dysentery, which swept away seventy inhabitants out of a few hundreds. The disease was confined to one street."[141] In the same year dysentery epidemics started in Westborough, Massachusetts, and surrounding towns. The Reverend Ebenezer Parkman wrote in his diary:

September, 1745. 6th at Eve Mr Bezal Eager come from Mr Billings wth his Earnest request to have me go over to see his sick Children. I went and found his little son, his only son, very nigh to Death, and Two little Daughters sick—returned at abt ten & ½ to my Family. Their sickness is Fever & Flux wc greatly prevails in Shrewsbury and many Childr are taken away . . . 10th . . . my Wife and I went to the Funeral of Two of Mr Billing's Children—his little son and a little Dauter who Sabbath was Sennight went hand in hand to ye House of G. now lay in one Grave & in one Coffin. They were buryed by the New Meeting House. The first yt have been buryed in that place . . . 12th Fast on the North side. Mr Cushing [of Shrewsbury] sent a Letter yt the Sick and Dead among ym prevented his coming. Mr Morse [of Boylston] sent a Letter also yt not only was ye most distressing Sickness among his nrs but he hims. was Sick nay and desired a Fast might be kept among them next Week . . . 16th Was at ye Funeral of anor of Mr Billings Children & Mrs Billings ill. N.B. A Story has got about of a Dream of Mrs Billings, & wc I took the Freedom to enquire into and wc she confirmed, viz yt she Saw a man bring ye Coffin of her youngest Child into ye House upon wc She looked on: but presently yre came in another Man wth a large Coffin, & said to her yt she had not need take on for her Child for here was a Coffin for her also, for she wd die next . . . N.B. Mr Hale who lives near ye new burying place (tis said) saw a large Coffin (as well as a small one) in ye air just over ye Burying place last Tuesday evg imedly after ye burying Mr Billings Two Childr. wc storys much fright pp abt Mrs Billings Death but I reply'd yt we have a more Sure word of prophecy &c. Mr John Oake & Mr Jesse Brigham have Each of ym

[139] *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXXIV (October, 1903), 252.
[140] *Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 330.
[141] Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 239.

a Child very bad of y^e^ Distemper both w^c^ I visited & prayd with. 17. I visited Eunice Bradish A.M. She lying Sick. Messengers one after ano^r^ of y^e^ Deaths and Sickness among us. M^r^ Brighams & Oakes Childr dyd last night. M^rs^ Billings very bad. M^rs^ Dinah Goodenow taken last night, but better today.[142]

In near-by Sutton, on November 5, it was proposed to set aside a day of humiliation on account of "ye sickness."[143]

The epidemic that began in Westborough about mid-August, 1746, was still worse than that of the year before. Parkman recorded that twenty-five children died within two months, among them four from the Barns family. Days of "Solemn Humiliation Fasting & Prayer on acc^t^ of y^e^ great Mortality" were observed in Westborough (September 4), Hopkinton (September 18), and Northborough (September 22). Among the thirty-seven deaths in Harvard were five Willards, four Coles, four Sawyers, and three Warners.[144] At the same time there were multiple deaths in many other Massachusetts towns, but the disease has not been identified though I suspect it was "Fever & Flux."

Records of epidemics around 1750 are somewhat difficult to evaluate because both dysentery and throat distemper began appearing almost simultaneously in some towns. In his notes on the "bloody Flux" epidemic of 1747, Joshua Hempstead recorded at least three deaths from "Fever & Flux & Canker."[145] It is possible that thrush, a common complication of dysentery, may have been confused with "canker"; but inasmuch as throat distemper was common at that time, it seems fair to assume that the patients had both diseases. Noah Webster said that both dysentery and ulcerous sore throat were very fatal in Guilford during 1751, but a commemorative broadside[146] states that the epidemic was caused by one disease; and the age distribution of the deaths (more adults than children) is very much in favor of dysentery. However, in Plainfield, Connecticut, while five members of the Dow family were dying from dysentery, three Woodwards in a house near-by were dying from "Canker" (1754).[147] There are also a few family records showing multiple deaths in both spring and autumn of the same year, suggesting two separate epidemic

[142] MS., A.A.S. See also *Vital Records of Shrewsbury* (multiple deaths in the Bragg, Davenport, Hapgood, Herrington, and Keyes families).

[143] Benedict and Tracy, *History of Sutton*, 70.

[144] Henry S. Nourse, *History of the Town of Harvard, Massachusetts* (Harvard, 1894), 116. No cause is stated.

[145] *Coll. New London Hist. Soc.*, I. 487.

[146] J. H., *Lamentation on Occasion of the Sickness and Mortality in East-Guilford, Anno Domini, 1751* (New London, 1752, broadside in N.Y.H.S.).

[147] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LXX. 311.

diseases such as diphtheria followed by dysentery; but it is hazardous to guess the causes of either multiple deaths or epidemics without at least a few details. In spite of the confusion, epidemics definitely identified as dysentery occurred in Connecticut in Waterbury (1749), where 130 died, Woodbury (1749), where 57 died, Canaan (1751), where "a great many old people" died, Hartford (1751), where 64 died, and New Haven (1751), where 45 died.[148] There were also severe epidemics in Fairfield during June and July, 1753 (which was a little off-season for a New England epidemic), in New London and Norwich during the mid-summer and autumn of 1753, and in Plainfield during 1754 and 1755.[149] Concerning the Norwich epidemic Jabez Fitch, Jr., noted in his diary in 1753: "y^e^ Later Part of this Sumer & y^e^ Foll was y^e^ Most Remarkable for Sickness that Ever was Known in this Plais In About 2 months 27 Persons Died of y^e^ Camp Distemper In our Society."[150]

After 1753 the name "camp distemper" became increasingly popular because of the prevalence of dysentery among troops. An epidemic of dysentery among Braddock's forces undoubtedly contributed to his defeat.[151] Very likely this was the disease to which George Washington referred when, on July 8, 1755, just after the disastrous battle of that campaign, he wrote to his mother: ". . . I was the only person then left to distribute the Genl's. Orders which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recover'd from a violent illness, that confin'd me to my Bed, and a Waggon, for above 10 days; I am still in a weak and feeble cond'n . . ."[152] The author of an article in Ames's almanac for 1759 thought that more soldiers died from diseases in camps than fell on battlefields.

Not only did dysentery cause havoc among troops, but frequently when soldiers camped in or near a town, the disease quickly spread to the civilian population, particularly to children, who were less able to withstand it. Moreover, ailing soldiers were often sent home to recuperate, and thus the disease could have been carried to distant towns. Such was the case in one instance in Sutton, Massachusetts: "Oct. 21st [1758] This day sen'it died Mr. Hall, of the camp disease, lately returned from the army—sun-

[148] Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 241–242, II. 23–27; *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XII. 124.

[149] *Black Rock, Seaport of Old Fairfield, Conn., 1644–1870*, Cornelia P. Lathrop, Editor (New Haven, 1930), 25; *Coll. New London Hist. Soc.*, I. 612–616.

[150] *Mayflower Descendant*, I (January, 1899), 38.

[151] *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*, Isabel M. Calder, Editor (New York, 1935), 183–188.

[152] *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, I (Washington, 1931), 152.

dry more are sick in the Town. Our forces are coming from the lake without further attempts on Ticonderogue."[153]

The year 1756 was a perilous one for the children of Massachusetts. It would not be surprising to find that well over a thousand of them died in this one colony alone. The throat distemper was not so bad as usual, but it was bad enough. Most of the trouble started, however, after the middle of July, when multiple deaths began to increase in number. In Newton five Sheppard children, in Oxford four Parker children, and in Weston four Smith children died during August and September. During October and November four Lealands died in Sherborn, four Robinsons in Dudley, and four Johnsons in Southborough. At least one hundred families lost two or three. The cause has not been determined in all cases, but a detailed account of the epidemics in some small towns north of Worcester has been preserved in a sermon by the Reverend John Mellen of Lancaster.[154] He started off in the usual tough Calvinistic fashion but managed to include some interesting footnotes:

I write unto you little Children, because I wou'd move you to Consideration and Seriousness, to reflect upon yourselves, upon your Ways, upon the End of Things, upon Death, Judgment and the eternal World, and to prepare for your own Death and Dissolution. I write unto you because I am tenderly concerned for you, and pained at my Heart for that dreadful Destruction that God has made among you, within a few Weeks past, by an obstinate and noisome Disease, that has bid such Defiance to Medicine . . .

How we have attended Funeral upon Funeral, Day after Day, and Week after Week; and laid our Hopes in the Grave . . . How sudden the *Deaths!* How awfully *distressing* the *Sickness* of the Deceased! . . .

And how that in the Autumn . . . [of] Seventeen Hundred fifty-six, the Inhabitants of the Land, and more especially those in the Neighbourhood of this *Chasm,* were seiz'd with this mortal *pestiferous* Distemper, that has swept them off in such Numbers.

The Distemper is a Dysentery, or Bloody-Flux. And when *malignant*, is commonly attended with Vomiting, high Fever, extream Pain: and sometimes with *visible* Canker.—When the Patient appeared with *high* Symptoms of the Distemper at first, he often died in 3 or 4 Days: Others, and especially those *less* violently seiz'd, lived 8 or 10 Days, or more. Much vomiting a *bad* Symptom: and cold Hands and great Restlessness commonly *fatal:* Tho' many died without *all,* if not without *any*, of these Symptoms in a high Degree . . .

In this Parish have been buried 42 in about seven Weeks [thirty-three of them

[153] Benedict and Tracy, *History of Sutton*, 80.

[154] *A Discourse . . . at the West Parish in Lancaster: on Occasion of the Late Mortality in That and the Neighbouring Places* (Boston, 1757).

children]. A *Mortality*, (which in less than three Years wou'd have buried the whole Parish, which consisted of near 800 Souls), allowing for the probable Increase in the mean Time. The Proportion of the Dead to the Living is as 1 to 19, nearly. In the little Town of *Holden* [population about four hundred], where the Sickness first began, which, [to] the 20th of *October* had buried 40, the Proportion is much greater. In *Old Rutland* [population about nine hundred], at the same Time, had died 45. In the North Parish in *Shrewsbury* upwards of 20. And in more distant Places less, in Proportion to the Number of People.[155]

This same epidemic spread to Westborough. Ebenezer Parkman, recording the names of those who were sick or dead, turned back a few pages of his diary to September 13, 1756, to make a marginal note: "The Begin^{g} of y^{e} sore sickness." Of some significance, perhaps, was his remark that Dr. Gott had returned to Marlborough "from y^{e} camp" and that "The sorrowf. news from y^{e} Army is confirmed, of y^{e} multitudes w^{c} have dyd by Sickness." Early in October he noted that eight persons died within four days. There was a fast in Shrewsbury on October 13, and another the following day in Westborough. In Chauxit (now Sterling) five percent of the population died within eight weeks, "and the well hardly sufficed to give proper care to the sick." In Harvard there were about twenty-five more dysentery deaths during September and October.[156] Other Massachusetts towns suffered epidemics during the autumn of 1756; and in Maine "the slow fever and bloody flux" prevailed at Black Point, North Yarmouth, and Falmouth.[157]

Then followed a relatively calm period so far as dysentery is concerned. There were occasional single and multiple deaths and even a few small epidemics in New England; but with the exception of a terrible epidemic in New York[158] late in the summer of 1767, when fifteen deaths were reported daily, there was nothing of great interest until 1769.

During August and September, 1769, the real, devastating bloody flux broke out again in Guilford, Connecticut, and in Pennsylvania.[159] At the same time large numbers of children died in Boston, Marblehead, and Salem;[160] but from the information now available it is impossible to ex-

[155] *Id.*, 2–3, 30–31.

[156] Nourse, *History of Harvard*, 119.

[157] *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane*, 169.

[158] *Boston Evening-Post*, September 21, 1767.

[159] Burges Letters (photostats, Conn. Historical Society); Guilford Vital Records (MS. in Conn. State Library: Leete family, four deaths, Starr family, two deaths); Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, II. 27; *New York Gazette*, September 11, 1769 (quotes *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 31, 1769).

[160] *Boston Post-Boy*, October 9, 1769; William Whitwell, *A Discourse Occasioned*

clude so-called "summer complaints of infants." This is particularly true of Boston records because after similar increases in deaths had occurred during the late summers of 1772 and 1773, the newspapers began to speak of "The Disorder that generally attends young Children at this Season."[161] There is less doubt, however, about the diagnosis in other towns, particularly in Danvers where there was "Extraordinary Sickness and Mortality [from] Bloody flux & fevers" during 1773. Both smallpox and dysentery contributed to the increase in deaths in Salem, and, according to Dr. Holyoke, the dysentery was very fatal. Noah Webster said that in New Haven and East Haven the dysentery was also of a "peculiarly malignant type."[162] During 1774 "hemorrhoidal diarrhea" was common in North Carolina; and in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, during October, "Fever & Flux" claimed five children belonging to Daniel Bliss.[163]

If ever there was a dysentery year in New England, it was the memorable year of 1775. On the surface it seems that during this and the next three years dysentery caused the deaths of more children than all other diseases combined. At this late date, chiefly because the newspapers of that time were devoted almost exclusively to war and politics, it is difficult to find detailed descriptions of many local epidemics; but it was a rare New England town that sometime during these four years did not experience an epidemic that would begin in mid-summer, reach its peak in autumn, and disappear in winter, meanwhile killing off children in groups of twos and threes and fours. Occasionally, in some towns, the epidemic would last two summers, while in other towns there would be two separate epidemics, one in 1775 and another in 1778. Altogether it was one of the most fatal periods for children in colonial history.

As early as June 17, 1775, the "Bloody Flux [was] already very bad in Maryland." Early in August, Philip Fithian made another note in his diary: ". . . many Disorders, chiefly the Flux, are now raging in the lower Counties, Chester, Newcastle &c.

by the Loss of a Number of Vessels, with Their Mariners, Belonging to the Town of Marblehead (Salem, 1770), 7; *Essex Gazette*, January 2, 1770.

[161] *Boston News-Letter*, September 17, October 8, 1772; *Boston Evening Post*, September 27, 1773.

[162] *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, XXXIV. 23; Holyoke MSS. (Essex Institute), 45; Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 260, II. 25; Dodd, *East Haven Register*, 88.

[163] Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, II. 819; *Massachusetts Gazette*, November 17, 1774. For short accounts of bloody flux in Maryland and Virginia during 1774, see *Journals & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774*, Hunter D. Farish, Editor (Williamsburg, 1945), *passim*.

I pray God Delaware may be a Bar & stop that painful & deadly disorder. Enough has it ravaged our poor Cohansians . . ."[164]

It was characteristic of dysentery years for the disease to break out in the southern and middle colonies before it broke out in New England. But also contributing greatly to the magnitude of the New England epidemic were the British troops in Boston and the American troops in Cambridge. The first reports of the disease appeared in the newspapers during July: "We hear the camp distemper rages in the regular army in Boston, as also among the distressed inhabitants who are confined in that town by order of Tom. Gage, in open violation of his most solemn engagement. It is to be hoped he will meet the fate of Pharoah of old, whose example he so exactly follows."[165] In August a letter sent through the lines mentioned that two members of the Cotton family and two of the Wiswall family were dead of the flux.[166] It was also learned that three thousand British troops were sick.[167] Apparently by the end of August the disease had appeared in many inland towns, for there was published on the front page of the *Massachusetts Spy* a whole column of medical news entitled "A Cure for the Bloody Flux."[168]

Benjamin Rush was responsible for the statement that there was scarcely any sickness in the American Army while it was in Cambridge; but other writers, including Dr. John Morgan, who was at the scene, said that army hospitals were crowded and that contagious diseases, including dysentery, were rampant.[169] Certainly if this army camp was anything like the others during 1776 and 1777, conditions were deplorable. It has been authoritatively stated that more wounded men died from contagious dis-

[164] *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775–1776*, Robert G. Albion and Leonidas Dodson, Editors (Princeton, 1934), 32, 94.

[165] *Massachusetts Spy*, July 19, 1775.

[166] *Id.*, August 16, 1775.

[167] *Id.*, August 23, 1775.

[168] *Id.*, August 30, 1775.

[169] Louis C. Duncan, *Medical Men in the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (Carlisle Barracks, Pa., 1931), *passim*. Unless otherwise stated, subsequent references to army camps have been taken from this source. Duncan interprets "camp distemper" to mean typhus fever, but the following quotation from Breck Parkman's diary shows that camp distemper, bloody flux, and dysentery were synonymous: "[1775] July 16. we hear of a number of our Soldiers being Sick of the bloody Flux in Camp . . . August 13. it is a very sickly time with us. the Feaver and Bloody flux prevails Exceedingly. 3 funerals last Week . . . August 20. it is a very sickly time with us. the Camp distemper prevails . . . September 26. The dissentery yet prevails . . . October 22. N.B. the Sickness which rag'd so much is Considerably abated tho there is a number now sick in Town. Capt Wheelocks little child buried yesterday and another lies very low." (MS., American Antiquarian Society.)

eases after they reached army hospitals than died from the effects of their wounds. Noah Webster, who did not believe that dysentery was contagious and who ridiculed all his contemporaries who disagreed, tried to prove that the Army was not responsible for the spread of dysentery to civilians by pointing out that there were malignant epidemics during 1773 and that even some 1775 epidemics could have had no relation to returning soldiers. But Webster had no conception of "healthy" carriers, and carriers were undoubtedly a major source of trouble. It is difficult to prove this by the evidence now at hand, but there are a few suggestive items. It so happens, for instance, that the first deaths in the Marlborough epidemic of 1775 were in the family of Colonel Abraham Williams, and there are other instances of multiple deaths of children whose brothers or fathers were serving in the war, such as those of four members of Captain Arthur Daggett's family in Sutton. There are also a few records of soldiers taken sick in camp and returning home to die. In Newbury, John Pearson died on September 28, 1775, "of y^e^ dysentery, being bro't home sick from y^e^ army at Cambridge."[170] Nathan Stone, thirty years old, died in August, 1775, from "Camp Disease" while on his way to his home in Sutton, but he "got no further than Weston."[171] Dr. Matthew Irvine, a physician in Benedict Arnold's ill-fated campaign into Canada—it failed, by the way, mostly because of dysentery and other contagious diseases—was stricken with dysentery "on the march from Cambridge." Amos Farnsworth of Groton went home from Cambridge suffering from "Camp Fever."[172] It makes little difference whether or not the Army got its dysentery from British or American sources, for the fact remains that the Army, once infected, was the source of many disastrous local epidemics. The best evidence of this is from the autobiography of the Reverend Samuel West, minister at Needham in 1775:

> The Dysentery soon prevailed in the American Army & extended itself more or less through the Country. Although it prevailed most in the Town near camp, my Parish partook largely of this calamity. We buried about 50 persons in the course of the season. Some families were dreadfully bereaved. One in particular a Mr. Joseph Daniels buried an amiable wife & 6 very promising Children in about 6 weeks—we often buried 3 or 4 in a day. My time was wholly devoted to visiting the sick, attendance on the dying & the dead.[173]

[170] *Vital Records of Newbury*, II. 684.

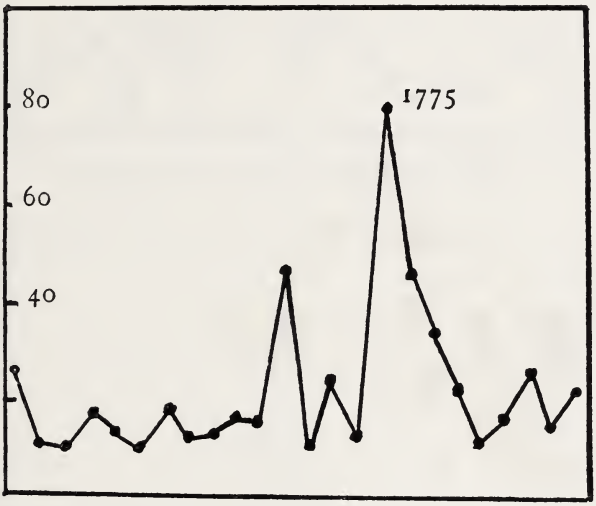
[171] *Vital Records of Sutton*, 466.

[172] 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XII. 87.

[173] *Dedham Historical Register*, II (January, 1891), 22. The dates given on the Daniels tombstone show that the seven deaths in that family occurred between August 31 and September 12, 1775.

Writing to her husband about the sickness in her family, Abigail, wife of John Adams,[174] vividly described the epidemic in Braintree. "The desolation of war is not so distressing as the havoc made by the pestilence. Some poor parents are mourning the loss of three, four, and five children; and some families are wholly stripped of every member . . . 'Tis a dreadful time with the whole province. Sickness and death are in almost every family. I have no more shocking and terrible idea of any distemper, except the plague, than this."

The Marlborough records are complete enough to show that the epidemic in that town was the "most destructive" in its history.[175] Out of a population of one thousand four hundred there were seventy-eight deaths during 1775, perhaps fifty from camp distemper.



Marlborough, deaths, 1760–1783

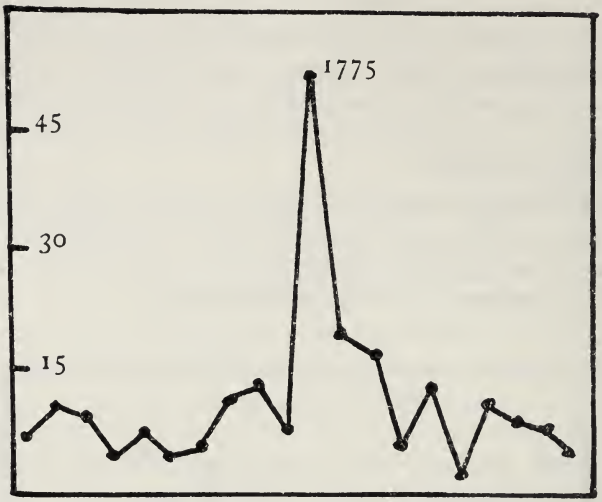
The vital records show many multiple deaths.

In Dedham, on August 29, 1775, there was a "Parish Fast on acc^{t} of the mortal Dysentery" which had been raging for at least a week;[176] and in Groton, Medford, and Sutton the epidemics appear to have been se-

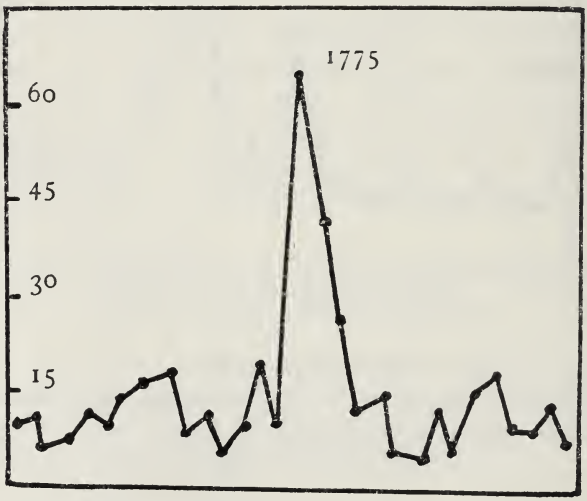
[174] Charles F. Adams, *Letters of Mrs. Adams* (Boston, 1841), li, 69.

[175] Charles Hudson, *History of the Town of Marlborough* (Boston, 1862), 186, 252; *Vital Records of Marlborough.* There were multiple deaths in the Brigham, Hunting, Weeks, and Williams families.

[176] *Dedham Historical Register,* III (July, 1892), 130.



Wintonbury, Conn., deaths, 1765–1784



Coventry, Conn., deaths, 1760–1789

vere.[177] Those in Brookline, East Bridgewater, Tewksbury, and Wakefield appear less serious on the basis of incomplete records. Of the more than twenty-five still unidentified but simultaneous epidemics, the worst were in Bellingham, Brimfield, Chelmsford, Medway, Plympton, Sharon, and Westford.[178] In addition there were scattered dysentery deaths but no evidence of serious epidemics in numerous other towns in eastern Massachusetts. A Thanksgiving proclamation dated November 4, 1775, mentions the "wasting sickness . . . in many of our Towns," although by that time it was apparently subsiding, for the "voice of health" was once again being heard.[179]

In Connecticut, according to Noah Webster, there were one hundred dysentery deaths in Danbury;[180] and in Middletown dysentery followed in the wake of "cynanche maligna" in the spring.[181] There were severe epi-

[177] The Groton vital records show that there were multiple deaths in the Champney, Hazen, Keys, Moors, Patch, Quailes, and Stone families, but only one death in the town at this time (that of Abigail Kinrick on September 5) is expressly attributed to dysentery. The Medford vital records mention deaths from dysentery in the Angier, Blanchard, Brooks, Calf, Faulkner, Hall, Vitent, Wade, and Winship families. There were also two deaths at this time in the Fullton family and four in the Tufts family, but the causes are not stated. See also Brooks, *History of Medford*, 450. The Sutton vital records show camp distemper deaths in the Allen, Bruce, Cordwell, Daggett, Gibbs, Goold, Haden, Lilly, Marble, Sibley, Stone, Walker, Whipple, and Woodberry families.

[178] *Vital Records of Bellingham*, 189–190 (Hill family, two deaths), 190–194 (Eliphalet Holbrook family, three deaths, Luke Holbrook family, two deaths), 209–210 (Scott family, four deaths). In Brimfield there were three deaths in the Bacon family, two in the Moffatt family, and two in the Sherman family. For Brimfield, see *Historical Celebration of the Town of Brimfield* (Springfield, 1879), 90, 369, 453; *Vital Records of Brimfield*, 308. For Chelmsford, see Waters, *History of Chelmsford*, 721 *et passim*; *Vital Records of Chelmsford*, 371–373 (Butterfield family, three deaths), 374 (Campbell family, two deaths), 376–377 (Chamberlin family, two deaths), 419–420 (Isaac and Philip Parker families, two deaths each), 431 (Proctor family, two deaths), 436 (Robins family, two deaths). For Medway, see *Vital Records of Medway*, 283–288 (Adams family, five deaths), 312 (Hammond family, two deaths). For Plympton, see *Vital Records of Plympton*, 443 (Boney family, four deaths), 458–459 (Churchil family, four deaths). For Sharon, see *Vital Records of Sharon*, 152 (Clifford Belcher family, five deaths, Jeremiah Belcher family, four deaths), 154 (Bird family, two deaths), 159 (Coney family, two deaths), 184–186 (Richards family, five deaths), 192–193 (Withington family, two deaths). For Westford, see *Vital Records of Westford*, 275 (Dutton family, two deaths), 293–294 (Keyes family, four deaths), 307–309 (Read family, two deaths), 312 (Robinson family, three deaths), 313–314 (Smith family, two deaths), 321–325 (Ephraim Wright family, four deaths, Thomas Wright family, two deaths).

[179] *Massachusetts Spy*, November 17, 1775.

[180] *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 263; II. 23.

[181] The records of the Middletown First Society show twenty-four dysentery deaths between August 11 and November 19, two from "Dysentery & Throat Distemper."

demics also in Wethersfield, Wintonbury, and, particularly, Coventry.[182] The Reverend Solomon Williams preached a sermon on December 3, 1775, on the abatement of the "sore sickness" accompanied by multiple deaths in Lebanon and "in many towns."[183]

If there is any question about dysentery in the Army during 1775, at least there can be no doubt about it during 1776. In June, Captain John Lacey wrote in his journal that the New England camp on Long Island was full of "Fluxes, Fevers, & Smallpox." In July "The General [was] pained to observe" the frightful condition of the latrines and ordered all filth in and about the camp to be buried daily. The Chief Surgeon of the Hessian forces said that after they arrived in July, hardly a man escaped without dysentery or fever. Young Philip Fithian, describing the American military hospitals in New York, said: "In every apartment are many with the Dysentery"—and this was just before he himself contracted the disease and died. Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley also said that dysentery was rife in the Army during July, August, and September.[184] James Tilton described the condition of the camp at King's Bridge: "All manner of excrementitious matter was scattered indiscriminately throughout the camp . . . A putrid diarrhea was the consequence. The camp disease, as it was called, became proverbial. Many died, melting as it were, and running off at the bowels." On October 4 Washington's order of the day called attention to the "shameful inattention in some camps, to decency and cleanliness." At that time it was estimated that one-third of his forces were unfit for duty because of sickness.

Elsewhere, too, there was ample reason to fear "more loss of men from Camp sickness than from y^e^ Gun & Bayonet."[185] The Reverend Ammi Robbins, heartily distressed "midst sickness and death" while with the forces around Lake George, described the men, first terror-stricken by smallpox in April, then decimated by camp distemper throughout the summer.[186] At one time less than 50 out of a force of 240 men were able

[182] For Wintonbury, see *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LXXI. 304–305. For Coventry, see Susan W. Dimock, *Births, Marriages, Baptisms and Deaths in Coventry* (New York, 1897), 177, 178–179, 187, 222 (Ames family, two deaths, Brigham family, two deaths, Carpenter family, two deaths, Colman family, three deaths, Curtiss family, three deaths, Cushman family, four deaths, Jones family, two deaths, Mead family, three deaths).

[183] *The Greatness and Sovereignty of God, Sufficient Reason to Silence Man's Complaints of his Providence* (Norwich, 1777), 24.

[184] *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, I. 542; *Cases and Observations*, 68.

[185] *Penn. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, XXIII (October, 1899), 394.

[186] Theron W. Crissey, *History of Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut* (Everett, 1900), 105–116.

to carry on. At the peak of the epidemic five men were being buried daily. Webster was an eyewitness to the "terrible fatal" dysentery among the troops at Ticonderoga. "I was at Mount Independence in October, and witness to the ravages of the disease. Of thirteen thousand troops, it was said that one half were unfit for duty."

"The dysentery which prevailed in most parts of the United States in the year 1776" was said to have been "very mortal" in Kingston, Massachusetts, but neither in Kingston nor in other Massachusetts towns do my records reveal any terrible epidemics unless the one in Chester, in western Massachusetts, was caused by that disease.[187] In West Hartford, Connecticut, a two-year epidemic started with the deaths of about twenty soldiers "in y^{e} Camp," but most of the multiple deaths among children occurred the following summer.[188] There was another moderately severe epidemic in Middletown. In one parish in Morristown, New Jersey, there were twenty-five dysentery deaths including those of five members of the Reeve family and four Pruddens.[189] All in all, however, there was nothing comparable to 1775.

The American soldiers at Lake Champlain suffered severely from dysentery during 1777. Burgoyne also had plenty of sickness among his troops. Baroness Riedesel, who was with the British forces, described what she saw on the night before the crucial battle of that campaign: "The whole entry was filled with the sick, who were suffering with the camp sickness, a kind of dysentery."

In the new settlements of Vermont dysentery raged with "great severity" during 1777.[190] In Athol and surrounding towns in Massachusetts there were numerous deaths from some epidemic disease, with a clue to the diagnosis furnished by the Royalston records, which show at least forty deaths from dysentery in a population of about six hundred.[191] In

[187] *Vital Records of Chester* shows multiple deaths in the Blackman, Ellis, French, Geers, and Johnson families between August 7 and October 2, 1776.

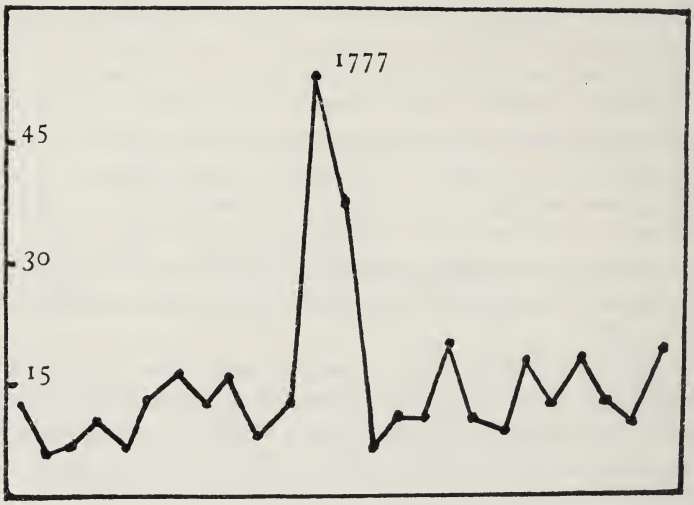
[188] West Hartford Bill of Mortality (MS., Conn. State Library).

[189] *The Record of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown, N.J.*, 1 (July, 1880), 55.

[190] Gallup, *Epidemic Diseases in Vermont*, 33.

[191] In Athol there were multiple deaths in the Drury, Haven, Hill, and Hudson families. *Vital Records of Athol.* In Conway there were multiple deaths in the Isaac Amsden, Elisha Amsden, Bancroft, Billings, Catlin, Collings, Daniels, Dickinson, Farnsworth, French, Maynard, Rice, Tobey, and Wells families. *Vital Records of Conway.* In Greenfield there were multiple deaths in the Arms, Graves, Grenell, Lemuel Hastings, Medad Hastings, Mcheard, and Smead families. *Vital Records of Greenfield.* In Royalston there were multiple deaths in the Bragg, Metcalf, Richardson, Tytes, and Woodbury families. *Vital Records of Royalston.* See also Caswell, *History of Royalston*, 459.

Granville, too, the camp distemper was very bad.[192] Similar but smaller epidemics occurred in some small towns in the Berkshires. In western Connecticut, particularly in Norfolk, Litchfield, and Fairfield, there were some dreadful epidemics.[193] That in Norfolk was said to have destroyed ten percent of the population.



Norfolk, Conn., deaths, 1766–1790

The summer and autumn of 1778 was another trying period for the children of eastern Massachusetts. Smallpox and "slow fever" (typhoid?) were rife, but the East Bridgewater, Ipswich, Lynn, Medford, Spencer, and Tewksbury records show definitely that dysentery had again reached the epidemic stage. Not yet identified beyond doubt, but having all the characteristics of dysentery, were the fairly severe epidemics in Chelms-

[192] In Granville there were deaths (in some instances multiple deaths) from camp distemper in the Allen, Bancroft, Barlow, Coe, Cooley, Forbs, Foster, Fullington, How, Monson, Peters, Pratt, Root, Rose, Rowley, Seward, Strickland, and Williams families. *Vital Records of Granville.*

[193] *Norfolk Centennial* (Hartford, 1876), 40. There were numerous instances of multiple deaths in the town. *Baptisms, Marriages, Burials and List of Members Taken from the Church Records of the Reverend Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, First Minister of Norfolk, Connecticut* (n.p., 1910), 86–89. In Litchfield there were multiple deaths in the Farnam, Johnson, and Russell families. George C. Woodruff, *A Genealogical Register of the Inhabitants of the Town of Litchfield* (Hartford, 1900), 76, 115, 186. See also Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, II. 24. For Fairfield, see *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LXX. 42.

ford, Dunstable, Harvard, and Lexington,[194] and the less severe ones in Carlisle, Sherborn, and Woburn. Multiple deaths between August and November can be found in the vital records of at least twenty other towns. During this period six members of the Childs family in Lexington and five of the Fletcher family in Chelmsford died. The Larkins of Lancaster, the Merrills of Methuen, and the Newtons of Milford lost four apiece. In Plainfield, Connecticut, one branch of the Mordock family was destroyed. The story can be briefly summarized by a few words from the diary of the Reverend Thomas Smith of Falmouth, who wrote on September 30, 1778: "There is a terrible dysentery that prevails and rages at the westward. There is not a child three years old left in Mystic."

The period from 1779 to 1793 throughout most of the United States, particularly New England, appears to have been relatively free from destructive, widespread epidemics. That is not to say that the disease had disappeared, for it was still present among the troops in the Carolinas during 1780 and in Virginia during 1781; and even considering the possibility of faulty diagnoses, one can still find occasional dysentery deaths here and there every single year. There are also numerous suspicious multiple deaths in various vital records, and there are even some indications that the disease may have been endemic in some of the larger towns. In the only available Salem records, for instance, there were six dysentery deaths in both 1782 and 1783;[195] and Benjamin Franklin said in 1784 that dysentery was among the most common diseases of Boston.[196] But during all these fourteen years less than a dozen serious epidemics have so far come to light, and though a few of them were frightful, they were all fairly well localized and scattered. Among the worst were those in Pennsylvania (1779), Sterling, Massachusetts (1786), Norfolk, Virginia (1787), Bennington County, Vermont (1788), Boston (1789), and Philadelphia (1791).[197] Though the disease may have been on the wane, it was

[194] Waters, *History of Chelmsford*, 721 *et passim*; *Vital Records of Chelmsford*, 370 (Burge family, two deaths), 376 (Chamberlain family, two deaths), 389–393 (Fletcher family, five deaths). For Dunstable, see *Vital Records of Dunstable*, 215–216 (Jonathan and Robert Fletcher families, two deaths each), 220–221 (Kendall family, two deaths), 227 (Read family, two deaths), 237–238 (Woodward family, five deaths), 238 (Wright family, three deaths). For Harvard, see Nourse, *History of Harvard*, 530–531. For Lexington, see *Lexington, Mass., Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 167 (Bridge family, three deaths), 170 (Childs family, six deaths), 200–202 (Smith family, three deaths).

[195] *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, I. 546.

[196] *American Magazine* (October, 1788), 766.

[197] James Blundell, *An Inaugural Dissertation on the Dysentery* (Philadelphia, 1791), 13; Allen, *Treatise on the Scarlatina Anginosa, and Dysentery*, 36; *Worces-*

still regarded with utmost respect, for every now and then there appeared in the newspapers some sure-fire cures for the fatal "bloody flux."

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, however, there were some of the worst epidemics of all; at least, they were so described. In Georgetown, D. C., and vicinity during 1793, the epidemic "swept away many hundreds." In Caroline County, Maryland, there was "considerable mortality"; and in several villages of Pennsylvania there was "a malignity and mortality, unknown before in any part of the state." It was also a "very sickly" time in Plymouth, Massachusetts. The disease was "more obstinate" than usual in Newport, Rhode Island; and in Coventry, Connecticut, it "killed almost every person whom it seized."[198]

The year 1794 was not too dreadful, most of the known epidemics being limited to New Haven and Fairfield counties, Connecticut.[199] Morristown had a small epidemic, its first since 1777. During 1795 Sterling, Massachusetts, New Haven, East Haven, and Branford, Connecticut, Dutchess County, New York, and Baltimore were the hardest hit.[200] The disease was "never so alarming" as it was during 1796 in Castleton and Stockbridge, Vermont, and towns near-by. Forty-four persons died in Sheffield, Massachusetts, where the mortality was "perhaps unequalled in the annals of our country." Fifty-nine died in Worcester.[201] During 1797 Hanover, New Hampshire, had its first attack, and many Rhode Island towns were stricken.[202] It was said that during 1798 the disease "spread over the country," but I have records of only a few New England epidemics.

This is by no means a complete account of eighteenth-century dysentery epidemics, for not many towns remained free from an invasion of this

ter Magazine, III. 288 (quoting the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*); Gallup, *Epidemic Diseases in Vermont*, 36; Dr. Appleton to Dr. Holyoke, Boston, September 30, 1789 (MS., Essex Institute); *American Museum*, X. 59, 112.

[198] Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 300; Rush, *Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever*, 14, 108, 127; Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, *A Family History in Letters and Documents* (St. Paul, 1919), I. 202–203.

[199] *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, III. 534; Stratfield Deaths (MS., Conn. State Library); *Black Rock, Conn., 1644–1870*, 61.

[200] Dodd, *East Haven Register*, lists eighteen deaths. The Branford Congregational Church Records (MS., Conn. Historical Society) list fourteen deaths. See also Colin Mackenzie (of Baltimore), *An Inaugural Dissertation on the Dysentery* (Philadelphia, 1797). Other epidemics at this time are mentioned in Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, and Allen, *Treatise on the Scarlatina Anginosa and Dysentery*.

[201] Gallup, *Epidemic Diseases in Vermont*, 36, 43; William Buel, in *Medical Repository*, I (2d ed., New York, 1800), 439; William Lincoln, *History of Worcester* (Worcester, 1862), 260.

[202] *Medical Repository*, I. 241; Webster, *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 327.

dreadful "wasting disease." Some towns suffered repeated epidemics, sometimes in successive years and again the following decade. During an epidemic of average severity half, or nearly half, of all the inhabitants of a town would become infected, and of these, one out of every six or seven would die. The net result would be a loss of five to ten percent of the population, to say nothing of the hundreds who barely escaped with their lives. Nor do these figures take into account the many thousands who must have died during nonepidemic years, particularly when so large a proportion of the population must have been innocent carriers. This was the disease that year after year made August and September the most dangerous months in New England. It was a disease of the aged, of young mothers, as well as a disease of childhood. One need only read some detailed first-hand accounts of the fear, sadness, misery and multiple deaths that always accompanied these frightful epidemics to realize that, while not like smallpox, a spectacular disease that generally made the headlines, dysentery nevertheless surpassed all other diseases as a cause of childhood deaths.

Smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis should certainly be included in the list of common diseases of colonial children. A surprisingly large proportion of them also had worms. Death frequently followed from eating poisonous berries, thornapple seeds, and so-called "mushrooms." Hardly a year went by without a report of a child fatally burned from playing with candles or gunpowder or from falling into open fires. More were drowned from falling off wharves or into unguarded wells or from swimming in treacherous streams. Still more were seriously, if not fatally, scalded from falling into large caldrons of boiling milk or water. And finally, when one considers that in addition to all these hazards, an incalculable number suffered from other serious noncontagious diseases and particularly "convulsion fitts," it seems a little surprising sometimes that any of them survived.

Journey to Hadley

May 23, 1942

ON SATURDAY, May 23, 1942, Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON invited the Society to visit him at his home, the historic Porter-Phelps-Huntington house in Hadley, Massachusetts. The house, built in 1752 by Dr. HUNTINGTON's great-great-grandfather, Captain MOSES PORTER, has not been structurally changed since 1799, and is furnished with contemporary family pieces.

Although it was necessary to travel by train, because of gasoline rationing, the thirteen members who made the journey to the Connecticut valley were well rewarded by the opportunity to visit the former Corresponding Secretary of the Society and to examine the family possessions and papers that he maintains with such care in this ancient house.

Annual Meeting

November, 1942

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, November 23, 1942, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, the Editor was designated as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on October 31, 1942, of KENNETH GRANT TREMAYNE WEBSTER, a Resident Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN and Mr. GEORGE NORTON NORTHROP accepting election to Resident Membership and from Mr. DANIEL JOSEPH BOORSTIN and Mr. GEORGE LAPIANA accepting election to Associate Membership in the Society.

Mr. ARTHUR HARRISON COLE, of Cambridge, and Mr. ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Jr., of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Dr. JAMES L. HUNTINGTON read the Annual Report of the Council.

Report of the Council

DURING the past year the Colonial Society of Massachusetts held three stated meetings. Last December we were entertained at the home of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr. Mr. George L. Haskins read a paper on "Gavelkind and the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony." Mr. George Parker Winship presented a communication entitled "William Ames, '45:—a Postscript to Sibley." In February the meeting was held at the Club of Odd Volumes. Mr. Edmund Sears Morgan read a paper on "Puritan Tribalism." In April the Society entertained as guests the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The meeting was held at the

Tavern Club at the invitation of Mr. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Dr. Ernest Caulfield of Hartford, Connecticut, read a paper on "Some Diseases of Colonial Children."

Several members of the Society took a trip to Hadley, Massachusetts, in May, and were shown the Farm Museum, the First Church of Christ in Hadley, and the Porter-Phelps-Huntington house, as guests of the Corresponding Secretary.

The Society has elected the following members:

Resident:

CHARLES CORTEZ ABBOTT
ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS
RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN
GEORGE NORTON NORTHROP

Associate:

GEORGE LAPIANA
DANIEL JOSEPH BOORSTIN

The Society has lost by death two members:

HOWARD JUDSON HALL, a Corresponding Member since 1928, died December 14, 1941. A native of New York state, he spent the greater part of his active life in the West. A teacher of English in Arizona and finally Professor of English at Leland Stanford, he wrote many books, chiefly related to poetry. He also edited Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial.*

KENNETH GRANT TREMAYNE WEBSTER, a Resident Member since 1932, died October 31, 1942. A Nova Scotian by birth and a graduate of Dalhousie University, he spent five years of study at Harvard, and taught there for nearly forty years. Interested in camping and fishing, he often returned to Nova Scotia for these pursuits. An authority on the castles of southern France, many of which he sketched, he was a student and collector of medieval weapons, adding to his collection models made by his deft fingers. Although he never presented a paper, he was a faithful member of this Society, rarely missing a meeting.

As usual the Society has been the chief supporter of the *New England Quarterly.*

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1942.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1942

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$11,573.87	
Loan to Principal	9,516.47	$2,057.40
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $98,143.50)	$94,746.64	
Stocks (Market Value $44,788.00)	50,271.19	
Mortgages	3,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,060.30	151,578.13
Total Assets		$153,635.53

FUNDS

Funds	$141,265.36
Unexpended Income	12,370.17
Total Funds	$153,635.53

Investments as of November 14, 1942

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	$4,062.50
5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50
4,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	3,810.62
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50
5,000 Consolidated Oil Corporation Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62
5,000 Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	4,663.28
5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	5,000.00
5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,125.87
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75

5,000	Public Service Company of Indiana First 4's, Series A, 1969	5,325.00	
5,000	Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series F, 1966	5,148.75	
5,000	Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75	
5,000	Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50	
8,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,320.00	
2,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,580.00	
5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	3,900.00	
5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	3,900.00	
10,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	7,420.00	
8,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	5,936.00	
5,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, May 1, 1954	3,700.00	
TOTAL BONDS			$94,746.64

STOCKS		*Book Value*	
50 shares	American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,534.13	
3 shares	Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00	
50 shares	First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share	First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81	
240 shares	General Electric Company	5,179.50	
50 shares	Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	
40 shares	Radio Corporation of America Common	0.	
200 shares	State Street Investment Corporation	13,489.00	
5 shares	Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
100 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Prior Reference Participating		
50 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Junior Preference	6,750.00	
100 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Common		
TOTAL STOCKS			$50,271.19

First Mortgages on improved property in Boston	$3,500.00	
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings	3,060.30	6,560.30
Total Investments		$151,578.13

Composition of Funds, November 14, 1942

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees added to Principal, Gains on Sale of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	14,536.61
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923-1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	7,428.75
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restrictions as to use	10,000.00

Commutation Fund, established by crediting all commutations received from 1893 to date. Income to be used for Current Expense	8,300.00
Samuel Henshaw Fund, established in 1942 under his will without restriction as to use	5,000.00
TOTAL FUNDS	$141,265.36

CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL OF FUNDS

Total Funds, November 14, 1941		$141,583.65
Add—Additions to Special Funds:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund	$258.14	
Samuel Henshaw Fund	5,000.00	
Add—Additions to General Fund:		
Admission Fees	60.00	
Profit from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company General Mortgage 4½'s, 1950	175.00	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First and Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	15.87	5,509.01
		$147,092.66
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:		
Loss from Sale of Securities:		
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred		5,827.30
TOTAL FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1942		$141,265.36

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 14, 1941		$12,021.87
RECEIPTS:		
Interest	$2,759.81	
Dividends	2,551.45	
Annual Assessments	820.00	
Sale of the Society's Publications	94.00	6,225.26
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		$18,247.13
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Publications, Volume 34	$2,668.32	
New England Quarterly	1,000.00	
Editor's Salary	1,000.00	
Annual Dinner	488.59	

Secretarial Expense	450.00	
Storage on Stock	300.76	
Postage, Office Supplies, and Miscellaneous	175.61	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	166.64	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
Insurance	16.20	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	258.14	
Total Disbursements of Income		6,673.26
Balance of Income, November 14, 1942		$11,573.87

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1941		*$10,809.18*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company General Mortgage 4½'s, 1950, called at 104½	$5,225.00	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First and Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	265.87	
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company $6.00 Preferred	4,772.70	
Estate of Samuel Henshaw	5,000.00	
Admission Fees	60.00	
Transferred from Income to Principal:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	258.14	
Total Receipts of Principal		$15,581.71
		$4,772.53
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	$5,000.00	
5,000 United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, May 1, 1954	3,700.00	
100 shares State Street Investment Corporation	5,589.00	
Total Disbursements of Principal		$14,289.00
Loan to Principal, November 14, 1942		*$9,516.47*

James M. Hunnewell
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1942, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

ALLSTON BURR
HERMANN F. CLARKE
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of Council for Three Years RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Professor Clarence H. Haring, the Right Reverend Edward G. Murray, the Reverend John J. Wright and Mr. Theodore Spencer. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

After the dinner, Professor HARING addressed the Society and its guests, and Mr. THEODORE SPENCER read several of his poems. Professor FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, a former President, proposed a toast to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in honor of its fiftieth anniversary.

December Meeting, 1942

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 17, 1942, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, the Editor was designated as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Jr., accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

The President announced the resignation of Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, who had been commissioned and ordered to active duty in the United States Naval Reserve, as an Executive Member of the Council, and the election by the Council of Mr. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO to fill Mr. WHITEHILL's unexpired term of two years.

Mr. RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN read a paper entitled "Early New England Women Counterfeiters."[1]

[1] The substance of this paper was included in Mr. Bowen's book, *Rhode Island Colonial Money and its Counterfeiting, 1647–1726*, which was published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations on December 30, 1942.

February Meeting, 1943

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 25, 1943, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The minutes of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President announced the death on December 20, 1942, of WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, a Resident Member; that on January 19, 1943, of GRENVILLE LINDALL WINTHROP, a Resident Member; and that on January 20, 1943, of JOSEPH HENRY BEALE, a Resident Member.

The President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, read a paper entitled "Who Was Simon Biby?"

The Editor communicated by title the following document submitted by Miss ISABEL M. CALDER:

The Will of Henry Davenport

AMONG the Lichfield wills, in 1938, deposited in the District Probate Registry in Birmingham, England, is the original will of Henry Davenport. Since the document throws light on the personal history and economic status of the father of John Davenport, Puritan divine and founder of the New Haven Colony, it is of interest to New England readers. The will was proved at Lichfield June 11, 1627, thus definitely fixing the date of Henry Davenport's death between March 27 and June 11, 1627. It gives the names of Henry Davenport's children living in 1627 and of his second wife, and hints at the incompetence of Barneby Davenport, his eldest son. The will is followed by an inventory, dated June 13, 1627, of miscellaneous articles in the great parlor, the hall, the chamber over the great parlor, the chamber over the entry, the maid's chamber, the chamber over the buttery, the chamber over the little hall, the chamber over the kitchen, the "bulting" [bolting-]house, the kitchen, and the little hall, indicating the size of the Davenport dwelling-house in Earl Street, Coventry.

March. 27. Anno D[o]m[ini]. 1627

In the name of God Amen. I Henry Davenport of the Cittie of Coventry Draper and Alderman, being at this tyme in perfect healthe of body, and in good memorie, praysed be god, doe make and ordaine this my last will and Testament, in manner and forme following, that is to saye, ffirst and principaly I doe Committ my soule to my Lord Jesus Christ, by whose merites only I hope to be saued, And my body to be buried in the Church of the holly Trinity in the Citty of Coventry, neare to the place where my father and mother lie buried; Item I giue and bequeath to Barnaby Davenport mine eldest sonne the sume of Twenty poundes, to be payde to my brother Christofer Davenport for the vse of him the said Barnabie, toward the payment of certaine monies, w[hi]ch he the said Christofer hath for him longe since disburced, And this twenty pounds to be paid to the said Christofer a yeare after my decease, Item I giue and bequeath to Edward Davenport my sonne Twenty poundes, And to Christofer Davenport my sonne Twenty poundes to be paid to each of them a yeare after my death, Item I giue to my sonne John Davenport Tenn poundes, to be payd him a yeare after my decease, and to be laid out in plate, Item I giue and bequeath to euery one of my grandchildren the children of my sonnes, w[hi]ch shalbe living at my death, the sume of ffourty shillinges a peece, to be emploied by their parentes to their vses, they giuing security to mine Executrix to discharge her from their Children for clayming of it of her when they shall come to age of Twenty and one yeare, at w[hi]ch tyme my will is, it shalbe due to them, and if anie of them die before, that then that legacy goe among the rest of his or her brethren and sisters, Item I doe bequeath and giue, and by this my last will and Testament, doe for divers and waighty considerations me therevnto mooving graunt, devise, and set over, vnto my beloued brother Christofer Davenport, both those my houses in the Cooke streete, now or lately in the occupation of Barneby Davenport my sonne, or of his assignes, w[i]th all the standardes and implements and gardens or orchards therevnto belonging, Also one garden in Anglers lane, now or lately in the occupation of Jonas Greene gardinor or, of his assignes, To haue and to hold to him the said Christofer Davenport my brother and to his heires in fee simple for ever, Not doubting but in tyme to come, he will haue respect vnto my sonne Barnaby, and to his wife and Children, as his and their good carrjage, and godly behaviour, shall cause god to move his good harte, w[hi]ch hath bine over ready to doe them good, Item I giue to my brother Christofer Davenport the sume of five poundes to be bestowed in a peece of plate, w[i]th my name on it, Item I giue to the poore in Smithford Streete ward tenn shillings to be distributed by my deputie at his discression on the day of my funerall, of w[hi]ch I will that two shillings be to John Scott cutler Item I giue to Margaret Bacon my servant 13*s.* 4*d.* The rest of my goods and Chattells vnbequeathed, w[i]th my plate, debts, money stocke of employment, housholde stuff, and aparrill, and the fee farme of my dwelling house being in the Earle streete in Coventry w[i]th the standards and implements therein my debts beinge payd

my legacies discharged, and my funerall performed I giue to my beloued wife Elizabeth Davenport whome I make full and sole Executrix of this my last will and Testament, not doubting but she will see the same faithfully performed according to her wonted kindnes shewed to me and mine Overseers I make my brother Christofer Davenport and my sonne Edward Davenport.

per me henry Davenport

Wittnesses
Richard Randell

April Meeting, 1943

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, April 29, 1943, at a quarter before nine o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The minutes of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death on March 13, 1943, of JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. JOHN ELIOT ALDEN, of Cambridge, Mr. WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL, of Haverhill, and Mr. LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS, of Danvers, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., ELLIOTT PERKINS, and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. ALLSTON BURR and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON and Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE.

Mr. HENRY JOEL CADBURY read a paper entitled "John Bourne, Pioneer of Freedom."

Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK ROBINSON exhibited a subscription list dated July 15, 1773, for the establishment of a school in the city of Williamsburg, Virginia, which he wished to present to the city through the Society. Among the subscribers were John Blair and Edward Randolph. It was voted that the Society transmit this list to the city of Williamsburg for Mr. ROBINSON.

Annual Meeting
November, 1943

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Tuesday, November 30, 1943, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The President, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the death on June 16, 1943, of ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, a Resident Member; that on September 9, 1943, of CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, a Corresponding Member; that on October 30, 1943, of JOHN NOBLE, a Resident Member; and that on December 15, 1943, of WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS, a Resident Member.

The President, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of letters from Mr. JOHN ELIOT ALDEN, Mr. WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL, and Mr. LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., read the Annual Report of the Council.

Report of the Council

DURING the past year the Colonial Society of Massachusetts has held, as usual, three stated meetings. That in December was at the Club of Odd Volumes, when Mr. Richard LeBaron Bowen read a paper entitled "Early New England Women Counterfeiters." In February again the meeting was held at the Club of Odd Volumes and our President read a paper entitled "Who Was Simon Biby?"

In April the meeting was held, at the invitation of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston. Mr. Henry J. Cadbury read a paper entitled "John Bourne, Pioneer of Freedom."

The Society has elected the following Resident Members:

John Eliot Alden
Willard Goodrich Cogswell
Lawrence Waters Jenkins
Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

We have lost by death during the past year seven members. Five resident:

On December 20, 1942, William Vail Kellen, a member since 1905. A keen lawyer, author of numerous tomes, he was a devoted son of Brown University serving as Trustee for over two decades. His strong churchmanship made him not only a Trustee of the Theological School, but also a Vestryman and benefactor of Trinity Church, Boston, for many years. He served as a member of the Art Commission of Boston. He was a faithful and contributing member of this Society.

On January 19, 1943, Grenville Lindall Winthrop, a member since 1930. A direct lineal descendant of Governor Winthrop, he was literally born to be a member of this Society. He was the owner of the famous collection of the portraits of his ancestors. His generosity and foresight in leaving his notable collection of art forever to the Fogg Art Museum places him high in the rolls of the benefactors of Harvard University.

On January 20, 1943, Joseph Henry Beale, one of the Immortals as a teacher of Law at Harvard. He was a militant churchman, attending all recent Diocesan and General Conventions of the Episcopal Church, and was always active in debate. His quiet, gentle voice was ever insistent and always persuasive. He was a faithful and interested member of this Society.

On June 16, 1943, Albert Bushnell Hart, a most striking and dynamic member of this Society since 1926. He was a prolific writer of history and an inspiring teacher. His anxiety to be involved in almost every controversy has been almost proverbial. His faithful attendance added greatly to the scenic value of our meetings.

On October 30, 1943, John Noble, a member of this Society since 1903. A partner in one of the oldest and best-known law firms of Boston, he was an authority on taxation, probate and real estate law. He was possessed of a most sympathetic and kindly nature, as clients and neighbors would readily testify. His paper on "College Lotteries" was inspired by the remarkable collection of lottery tickets made by his father—one of our original members.

On October 31, 1943, Walter Benjamin Briggs, a member since 1932. At Harvard from 1886–1904, at the Brooklyn Library, 1904–

1909, Librarian of Trinity College at Hartford, 1909–1915, he returned as Assistant Librarian at Harvard in 1915 where he continued until his retirement a year or two ago. He was the guide, philosopher and friend of every striving researcher wandering in the maze of books and catalogues. He was one of our most faithful and interested members.

We have also lost two corresponding members:

On March 13, 1943, JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, a member since 1933. This wizard of Wall Street probably belonged to more foreign orders than any other American. He was emphatically a citizen of the world. With palatial homes in New York and London, his magnificent private yacht carried nobles, bishops and statesmen to the far corners of the earth.

On September 9, 1943, CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, a member since 1915. This really great student, teacher, author and editor of American history wrote on almost every phase of the colonial life of our country. No wonder that he was singled out as one of the historians to be honored by Harvard at the Tercentenary.

Volume 34 of our *Publications* has been issued during the year—containing our *Transactions* from November 1937 to February 1942.

As usual the Society has been the chief support of the *New England Quarterly* in recognition of which our members receive copies of this valuable magazine for the asking.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1943.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1943

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$8,770.06	
Loan to Principal	7,739.73	$1,030.33
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $101,507.66)	$97,785.40	
Stocks (Market Value $51,763.63)	49,524.32	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,026.30	150,336.02
TOTAL ASSETS		$151,366.35

FUNDS

Funds	$141,082.99
Unexpended Income	10,283.36
Total Funds	$151,366.35

Investments as of November 14, 1943

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	$3,872.50
2,000 Columbia Gas & Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	1,905.31
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50
5,000 Consolidated Oil Corporation Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62
5,000 Continental Gas & Electric Corporation Debenture 5's Series A, 1958	4,663.28
1,294.07 Conveyancers Realty Company Debenture 4%—2% Fixed—2% if Earned, 1957	284.70
5,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	5,000.00
5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,125.87
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series A, 1973	5,400.00
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50
8,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,560.00
2,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,640.00
5,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	4,050.00
5,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	4,050.00
10,000 United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	7,490.00

8,000 United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	5,992.00	
5,000 United States of America War Savings Bonds, Series F, May 1, 1954	3,725.00	
8,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 2's, 1951/1953	8,000.00	
5,000 Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1958	5,044.62	
TOTAL BONDS		$97,785.40
STOCKS	*Book Value*	
50 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$8,534.13	
3 shares Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00	
2 5/10 shares Conveyancers Realty Company V.T.C. Class A Common	3.13	
50 shares The First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81	
240 shares General Electric Company	5,719.50	
50 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	
40 shares Radio Corporation of America, Common	0.	
200 shares State Street Investment Corporation	13,489.00	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
100 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Prior Preference Participating 100 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Common	6,000.00	
TOTAL STOCKS		$49,524.32
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings		3,026.30
TOTAL INVESTMENTS		$150,336.02

COMPOSITION OF FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1943

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees added to Principal, Gains on Sale of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	13,892.03
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00

Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Mr. Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the maximum sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	7,690.96
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
Commutation Fund, established by crediting all commutations received from 1893 to date. Income to be used for Current Expense	8,500.00
Samuel Henshaw Fund, established in 1942 under his will without restriction as to use	5,000.00
Total Funds	$141,082.99

Changes in Principal of Funds

Total Funds, November 14, 1942		$141,265.36
Add—Additions to Special Funds:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund	$262.21	
Commutation Fund—Commutation Fees	200.00	

Add—Additions to General Funds:		
Admission Fees	30.00	
Profit from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	1,734.01	
2,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	134.69	
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, 1966	51.25	2,412.16
		$143,677.52
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:		
Loss from Sale of Securities:		
$5,000 Public Service Company of Indiana First 4's, Series A, 1969	$12.50	
Exchanged:		
$2,500 Isaac Sprague, Jr., et al Trustees, Parti-Mtge. Receipt no. 155—4½%—1938		
1,000 Agostino de Stefano and Generosa de Stefano—Parti-Mtge. Receipt no. 152 4½%, 1939		
For:		
$1,294.07 Conveyancers Realty Company Debenture 4%—2% Fixed—2% if Earned, 1957		
2 5/10 shares Conveyancers Realty Company $630.14 Cash	2,582.03	2,594.53
TOTAL FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1943		$141,082.99

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 14, 1942			$11,573.87
RECEIPTS:			
Interest		$2,899.88	
Dividends		2,338.80	
Annual Assessments		760.00	
Sale of Society's Publications		245.00	6,243.68
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME			$17,817.55
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Publications—Volume 34	$3,932.54		
Publications—Volume 35	397.15	$4,329.69	

New England Quarterly	1,800.00	
Editor's Salary	1,000.00	
Annual Dinner	502.54	
Secretarial Expense	450.00	
Storage	300.76	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	129.87	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	107.22	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
Insurance	16.20	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	262.21	
Total Disbursements of Income		9,047.49
Balance of Income, November 14, 1943		$8,770.06

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1942		*$9,516.47*
RECEIPTS:		
$3,500 Conveyancers Title Insurance and Mortgage Company Parti-Mortgage Receipts	$630.14	
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series F, 1966 called at 104	5,200.00	
5,000 Public Service Company of Indiana First 4's, Series A, 1969, called at 106½	5,312.50	
2,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952, called at 102	2,040.00	
5,000 Bell Telephone Company of Canada 5's, 1957, sold at 116¼	5,796.51	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Junior Preference Stock, called at $15.00	750.00	
Admission Fees	30.00	
Commutation Fees	200.00	
Transferred from Income to Principal:		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	262.21	20,221.36
Total Receipts of Principal		$10,704.89
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series A, 1973	$5,400.00	
5,000 Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1951	5,044.62	

8,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds, 2's, 1951/1952	8,000.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF PRINCIPAL		$18,444.62
LOAN TO PRINCIPAL, NOVEMBER 14, 1943		*$7,739.73*

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1943, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

ALLSTON BURR
HERMANN F. CLARKE
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Professor Clarence H. Haring, Mr. Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., Profressor André Morize, and

Mr. Theodore Morrison. The Reverend Arthur J. Riley said grace.

After the dinner Professor André Morize addressed the Society and its guests and Mr. Theodore Morrison read several of his poems.

December Meeting, 1943

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 16, 1943, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

Mr. HENRY MORSE CHANNING, of Sherborn, Mr. ROGER ERNST, of Boston, and Mr. MAYO ADAMS SHATTUCK, of Hingham, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Recording Secretary read a letter from Mr. W. R. WOODBURY, City Manager of the city of Williamsburg, Virginia, thanking Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK ROBINSON and the Society for the subscription list, dated July 15, 1773, for the establishment of a school in Williamsburg, stating that it would be presented to the Mayor and Aldermen at their next meeting.

Mr. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO read a paper entitled "Professor John Winthrop."

February Meeting, 1944

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 17, 1944, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. HENRY MORSE CHANNING, Mr. ROGER ERNST, and Mr. MAYO ADAMS SHATTUCK accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., read a paper entitled:

Records of the Rhode Island Court of Equity, 1741-1743

THE existence of a Court of Equity in Rhode Island in the middle of the eighteenth century has long been known. Bartlett's *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* prints the statute of May, 1741, establishing this court and the statute of February, 1743/44, abolishing it.[1] Chief Justice Thomas Durfee alludes to the court in his *Gleanings from the Judicial History of Rhode Island*,[2] but his information was obviously derived from the two statutes. His examination of the manuscript records of other courts was not repeated in this connection. Consequently, what the Court of Equity actually did has remained largely a matter of guesswork. It was fascinating, for instance, to surmise that these colonial contemporaries of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke were supplementing the rigid doctrines of the English common law courts by the more flexible doctrines of the Court of Chancery. We could dream of them as enforcing trusts and hearing bills for specifically performing land contracts or enjoining the misdeeds of tenants. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.*

All this time a nearly complete record of the proceedings of this myste-

[1] John Russell Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England* (Providence, 1860), v. 22–24, 76–78.

[2] (Providence, 1883), 37.

rious Court of Equity was reposing unread in the Rhode Island archives and is now safe in the State Law Library. Recently the American Historical Association's Committee on Legal History, which has charge of the expenditure of the Littleton-Griswold Fund, became interested in this manuscript. Professor Daniel J. Boorstin, one of our members, was then teaching Legal History at Harvard Law School. He enlisted the aid of two students, Mr. Lincoln W. Lauterstein and Mr. Lester C. Migdal, who went to Providence and with the kind assistance of Miss Grace M. Sherwood, the State Librarian, and the staff of the John Carter Brown Library made microfilms of the entire manuscript. They then selected about fifty-seven cases for typewritten transcription and also submitted a report on the whole material to Mr. Boorstin as part of their law school work.[3] I have not seen the untranscribed portions of the microfilms, but the present paper is based on the transcribed cases and the report, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Lauterstein and Mr. Migdal for making possible this investigation. The Legal History Committee has selected as one of its current projects the publication of the record of the Rhode Island Court of Equity, with Dr. John T. Farrell of the Catholic University of America, Mark DeW. Howe, and myself working on the editing.

The present paper is only a preliminary report. After describing the general nature of the work of the Court of Equity, I shall present sixteen cases with interesting facts. Although the material raises several significant legal questions, these must be deferred to the published book.

The Origins and Purpose of the Court of Equity

At the time that the General Assembly in 1741 was considering a Court of Equity, the judicial system of the colony for civil litigation consisted of three levels:[4]

A case started in the Court of Common Pleas of one of the four counties; this comprised "four judicious and skillful persons," chosen by the General Assembly from citizens of the particular county. Their jurisdiction extended to "all civil actions arising or happening within such county, triable at common law, of whatever nature, kind or quality soever."

The loser in one of these courts could next go to the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize, and General Gaol Delivery, which sat only in Newport. The members were not then chosen for judicial ability. They were the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the ten Assistants, all of

[3] The eight rolls of microfilm and the typewritten transcription of selected cases are now in the Harvard Law School Library.

[4] Durfee, *Gleanings from The Judicial History of Rhode Island*, 15–21.

them popularly elected for political duties. It was like the Massachusetts Court of Assistants in composition and power.[5] This court decided both civil and criminal cases, and all capital cases began there. In civil matters its jurisdiction was purely appellate. Subject to this limitation, it was declared to be as ample as that of "The Court of Common Pleas, King's Bench, or Exchequer in His Majesty's Kingdom of England." Although this court developed into the present Supreme Court of Rhode Island, it did not become the court of last resort until its powers were defined by the Constitution adopted after the Dorr "Rebellion."[6]

The highest stage in the Rhode Island judicial system of 1741 was occupied by the General Assembly itself, which as the colonial counterpart of the High Court of Parliament considered itself a court as well as a legislature.[7]

In trying cases the two houses sat together in grand committee. Although this mixture of legislative and judicial functions violated the doctrine of the separation of powers which Montesquieu was then formulating in far-off France, nobody ought to be astonished by it. The General Court of Massachusetts then behaved in much the same way,[8] and the New York Senate sat as an appellate court into the nineteenth century as the House of Lords still does in theory.[9] The Rhode Island General Assembly had one advantage over the other courts of the colony—some of the men who decided cases there were legally trained, unlike the judges in the Courts of Common Pleas or the officials in the Superior Court. Yet the activities of the lawyers in the legislature caused so much resentment among their bucolic colleagues that a few years earlier the General Assembly made all lawyers ineligible to represent any town because their sitting on hearing of appeals was "found to be of ill consequence."[10] Although the lawyers soon returned as lawmakers, the General Assembly, as might be expected, continued to decide a good many of its cases in a legislative rather than a judicial spirit. Thus Durfee writes:[11]

In fact the assembly was very frequently petitioned (not to enforce but) to

[5] *Suffolk County Court Records: 1671–1680*, S. E. Morison and Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Editors (in our *Publications*, XXIX–XXX), I. xx–xxi.

[6] Taylor v. Place, 4 R. I. 324 (1856).

[7] Durfee, *op. cit.*, 34-46.

[8] *Suffolk County Court Records*, I. xxi–xxiii.

[9] In recent years, only judges and law lords sit in the House of Lords when it acts as a court.

[10] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, IV. 430. This statute of October 1729 was repealed at the next session.

[11] Durfee, *op. cit.*, 34–39.

modify the law in the particular case, or make it specially for the case, or to remedy some defect in it, or to help the petitioner get over the legal consequences of some mistake or omission of his own. It thus sat as a court to dispense justice not according to law but according to equity and according to equity in the popular as distinguished from the judicial meaning of the word. The records are full of illustrations of the jurisdiction. Thus the assembly early begun and long continued to grant divorces . . . There is an uncanny tradition, still vaguely surviving, that in such [divorce] cases grave legislators were sometimes plied in the lobby with solicitations and arguments too peculiar for public discussion . . .

Another phase of the jurisdiction is exemplified in the matter of appeals and petitions for new trial. The right of appeal was granted in 1680 in favor of any party to any "actional case" aggrieved by any judgment rendered in the higher court. The appeal seems to have taken the case up for re-trial on all the issues, though there was probably a good deal of arbitrariness in the procedure, the assembly acting as triers of both law and fact. At the conclusion of the hearing the judgment of the court below was either confirmed or modified, or, to borrow the contemporary euphemism, "chancerized" by mitigating the damages, or entirely reversed. In 1712, appeals to the assembly, technically so called, were abolished, though under another form, namely, by way of petition, the jurisdiction continued.

In granting such petitions [for trial or new trial], the general assembly assumed a large discretion . . . The usual grounds for such petitions were mistake, accident, surprise, or newly-discovered testimony; but the assembly did not limit itself to such grounds. It granted new trials for any cause, including even errors of law committed by the court. It would be presumptuous to say that the jurisdiction was not for the time salutary; but it was evidently liable to great abuses. For instance, it is scarcely conceivable that a case between a member of the assembly and one who was not would be impartially decided. So, too, in a case between a man of great political power or influence and a man without it, the latter would surely be at an incalculable disadvantage. And the danger was always inevitable that a case which involved large interests or excited strong feelings would get embroiled with party politics and become a potent influence in the elections.

Such was the judicial system of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation when its General Assembly in May, 1741, enacted:[12]

Whereas, the trial of appeals by the General Assembly, from judgments given at the superior court of judicature, have, by long experience, been found prejudicial, as well to the parties having their causes determined there, as well as to the government in general, by the public business being neglected;—

For remedy whereof, for the future, . . . it is enacted, that the act regulating the appeals from the judgments of the superior court to the General Assembly . . . is hereby repealed . . .

[12] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, v. 22–23.

And that for the future, there be a court of equity appointed and established, to consist of five judges, to be chosen annually by the General Assembly . . . ; who are hereby empowered and authorized to hear all appeals from the judgments of the superior court, in personal actions, and to give a determination on said appeals, by affirming, reversing or altering the judgments of said superior court, agreeably to law and equity, in as full and extensive manner as the General Assembly hath been accustomed to do.

And . . . that the judgment and determination of said court shall be final, saving an appeal to His Majesty, in council, in those cases wherein the law hath already provided.[13]

The plain purpose of this statute was to relieve the General Assembly of the burden of hearing appeals and petitions of new trials in its short and consequently busy sessions. This work was to be shifted to the new court. The preamble, the repeal clause, the provisions establishing the court, and the clause quoted last make the point clear. Moreover, the statute directs the Court of Equity to meet twice a year to try appeals from the Superior Court, and fixes the time as a month after each semi-annual session of that court. Thus the General Assembly was simply setting up a new appellate court, which was to be the sole court of last resort in the colony.

Why then the repeated references to "equity"? Do they not indicate that the new court was to be a colonial counterpart of the Court of Chancery just as the Superior Court had been expressly given the powers of the three English courts of common law? Some support for this view is supplied by the statute of 1705, which was entitled "An Act for the Generall Assembly to be continued a Court of Chancery, untill such time as a Court of Chancery can be erected."[14] Lauterstein and Migdal surmise that this was a half-hearted response to criticisms of the Rhode Island judicial system made by Bellomont, Dudley, and Cornbury as the outcome of their unwelcome visit to the colony earlier in the same year, and that, after waiting thirty-six years till 1741, the General Assembly at last got around to the promised "mature consideration for orderly settling" of a separate Court of Chancery. Yet I find no complaint of the absence of a Court of Chancery in the Dudley and Cornbury reports as printed by Bartlett, and Weston Clarke's reply to their charges fails to mention Chancery.[15]

There is, I think, an easier explanation for the title of the new court as

[13] The Privy Council in London has power to reverse or modify the decisions of colonial courts. It now exercises this power through its Judicial Committee composed of judges, but the situation was otherwise in the eighteenth century. Sir William Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (London, 1938), I. 516–517; XI. 68.

[14] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, III. 550.

[15] *Id.*, 543–549.

a "court of equity" and for the direction that it was "to give a determination . . . agreeably to law and equity." The word "equity" had in 1741, as now, three common meanings:[16] (1) Very broadly, it was "fairness, impartiality." (2) This led in jurisprudence to its use to describe "the recourse to general principles of justice to correct or supplement the provisions of the law." (3) After the Court of Chancery had begun about 1400 to decide cases which were not adequately handled by the common law courts, it gradually developed its own body of rules. Hence arose the narrowest meaning of equity—"the distinctive name of a system of law existing side by side with the common and statute law (together called 'law' in the narrower sense), and superseding these, when they conflict with it." A rough distinction between "law" and "equity," thus taken technically, was that the victor in a court of law usually got a judgment for money which the sheriff would collect by seizing and selling some of the loser's property whereas the victor in Chancery got a court order telling the loser to do something like signing a deed or not to do something, e.g., enjoining him from cutting down the plaintiff's ornamental trees. In other words, the Chancellor protected the plaintiff in the very property to which he was found entitled, but the law judges merely gave him money after he had suffered a wrong. And that was just what the Rhode Island plaintiffs wanted—money. They and the legislators cared little or nothing about the remedies granted in Chancery. They did not have the technical third meaning of "equity" in mind. Instead, they used the word predominantly in its broader first and second senses, somewhat loosely intermingled I suspect.

The Court of Equity of 1741, then, was intended to correct mistakes in the early stages of a lawsuit and make it come out right without overmuch attention to the strict rules printed in the statutes or in the sparsely scattered treatises owned by Rhode Island lawyers. The colonists put a new court in place of the General Assembly, but they expected to continue getting much the same brand of substantial justice between man and man which the legislators had been accustomed to hand out.[17]

The foregoing conclusion could easily be drawn from the language of the statute of 1741, without further evidence, but such *a priori* conjectures are solidly confirmed by the recently examined records of the Court of Equity itself. All of the transcribed cases simply review decisions of the Superior Court in actions of the sort which we find in the three Eng-

[16] Murray, *A New English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1897), III, Part 2. 262.

[17] See the passages about the General Assembly quoted earlier from Durfee, *op. cit.*, IV. 34–39.

lish courts of common law—actions to recover rent or the value of misappropriated merchandise and so on. If the plaintiff wins, he gets a judgment for money. Only one case[18] faintly resembles what was going on in the Court of Chancery, and even this ended in an award of cash. The work of the court was not what lawyers in London then or in Providence today would call equity.

There should be no surprise in this. If the Rhode Island colonists had had a real Court of Chancery, they would have hardly known what to do with it. In their simply organized society, actions for damages met most legal needs. No doubt, as in the Massachusetts Bay,[19] there was a little litigation of the kind which the Chancellor handled in London, but it was easily entrusted to the regular tribunals. In 1667 the General Assembly gave the predecessor of the Superior Court authority to proceed where any penalty, conditional estate or equity of redemption was sued for, according to the rules of equity, and to chancerize forfeitures.[20] In 1719 each town council, which was the regular probate court and still is in many towns, was directed to inquire into all breaches of charitable trusts, with power to imprison for contempt until its orders were obeyed.[21] Durfee speaks of cases where the General Assembly, without any previous proceeding in a lower court, entertained petitions for partition, specific performance, cancellation, accounting between partners, etc.[22] But there was not enough of this sort of thing to occupy anywhere the full time of the new Court of Equity, and indeed there is almost nothing in its records about the matters I have just been describing. One finds little likeness to the activities of the Maryland Court of Chancery.[23] Of course, if such a case had been appealed to the Rhode Island court, it would have been duly considered, but the judges would not have thought it any more within their province than a money action for the value of hogsheads of molasses. Whatever came up from the Superior Court was grist to their mill.

[18] Cowley v. Taylor, Reel VII. The writ describes a cause of action for specific performance of a contract to sell land, but names an ad damnum of £200. The final judgment was for £50 and costs.

[19] *Suffolk County Court Records*, I. l–lvi.

[20] Durfee, *op. cit.*, 23–24. On "chancering" bonds in ordinary colonial courts, see *Suffolk County Court Records*, I. li–lii.

[21] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, IV. 253–255.

[22] Durfee, *op. cit.*, 45.

[23] *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, 1669–1679*, J. Hall Pleasants, Editor, in *Archives of Maryland*, LI (Baltimore, 1934).

The Judges

What sort of men sat on the Court of Equity? [24] The first five selected were Samuel Clarke of Jamestown, John Potter of Providence, William Robinson of South Kingstown, John Chipman presumably of Newport, and Captain Thomas Spenser of East Greenwich. Clarke and Robinson served for only the opening session of November, 1741; Chipman sat through the session of April, 1743. These men were replaced by Captain Robert Hassard of South Kingstown, Josiah Arnold of Jamestown, and William Anthony of Portsmouth. Two of these men had already been Assistants, Clarke and Chipman; Potter became one later. Robinson and Hassard were subsequently Deputy Governors. Clarke and Spenser had been speakers in the General Assembly, and had been recently appointed as commissioners to settle the eastern boundary with Massachusetts. Most of the judges often served as deputies from their respective towns and their colony. Legal training was not considered essential for a judge in the Rhode Island of those days and there is no indication that any of them possessed it. By and large, they were the same kind of men as the officials constituting the Superior Court. The only significant difference was that most of the new judges had not gone so far up the political ladder as the men whose decisions they were to review. Very likely this fact caused no resentment. The judges on the Court of Equity were not distracted by multifarious administrative duties like the Governor and Deputy Governor and Assistants on the Superior Court, and so were likely to do a better judicial job.

The Attorneys

In more than fifty transcribed cases only ten attorneys appear—John Andrew, John Aplin, Henry Bull, James Honyman, David Richards, Jr., Matthew Robinson, William Robinson, Daniel Updike, John Walton, and Thomas Ward. The great bulk of the cases were argued by only five of these, Richards, M. Robinson, Updike, Walton, and Ward. Indeed, Ward appeared twenty-five times—in nearly half of these litigations. These ten attorneys were well-known men. All except Bull and W. Robinson attended the first bar meeting in 1745 and signed a compact as to fees and other professional matters.[25] Bull, Honyman, M. Robinson, and

[24] My statements about the judges have been compiled through the indexes in Bartlett, *op. cit.*, IV and V. Since this information must eventually be corrected and expanded by the use of genealogies and other sources, references to pages in Bartlett are here omitted.

[25] Wilkins Updike, *Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar* (Boston, 1842), 55, 294–295.

Updike were given biographies by Updike's descendant in his *Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar*. In 1749 the General Assembly requested Aplin, Honyman, M. Robinson, and Updike to prepare a bill for introducing into the colony a suitable list of English statutes. Such a list was submitted by Updike, Honyman, and Aplin, and was enacted into law.[26] Honyman later became Advocate-General of the Vice-Admiralty Court in Newport.[27] Therefore, these ten attorneys were much more learned in the law than the judges before whom they argued.

The Nature of the Papers

The papers fall into two groups. First is the Minute Book, of which all that survives has been completely transcribed. The entries are very bare and give no facts. By themselves they are even less informative than the entries of the Suffolk County Court from 1671 to 1680. The first few pages must be lost, for the book begins without any formal heading and I find no entries for a few of the early cases for which we have file papers. The first entries are in the term for September, 1741. Since some of the missing cases were decided by the Superior Court in March or May of that year and there was time after the establishment of the Court of Equity for a term in July, 1741, the whole of that term may have got torn off. Still, it is possible that no appeals came before the new court until September. A painstaking examination of the microfilms should establish the extent of the loss.

The second class of materials comprises the file papers, which are the chief source of interest. In nearly every case these contain the reasons of appeal to the Court of Equity, with several additional pleadings such as the writ which began the suit in the Court of Common Pleas, the declaration, plea and answer, and judgment in that court; the reasons of appeal to the Superior Court, and its judgment. Rather often other documents connected with the case are preserved, including contracts about merchandise, indentures of apprenticeship, inventories and accounts, rules for the crew of the privateer, and many affidavits or depositions by witnesses. These miscellaneous documents throw much light on the social history of the colony.

[26] Updike, *op. cit.*, 55.

[27] See Wiener, "Notes on the Rhode Island Admiralty, 1727–1790," *Harvard Law Review*, XLVI. 44, 70, which contains information on the subsequent careers of Honyman, Aplin and M. Robinson. Honyman appears frequently (see index) in *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island, 1716–1752*, Dorothy S. Towle, Editor (Washington: American Historical Association, 1936), reviewed by Wiener in *Harvard Law Review*, L. 1213.

Now, turning aside from these dry details, I shall set forth some of the interesting cases which show what was going on in Rhode Island thirty years before the outbreak of the quarrels with England.

1. The Missing Law Books

Eleazer Metcalf, a merchant of Providence, sued John Aplin, the lawyer already mentioned who appeared in his own defense. Metcalf alleged that by his orders Huldah Carpenter, a Rehoboth widow, had delivered six law books and a Latin dictionary to Aplin for safe keeping and redelivery to Metcalf on request. Aplin claimed to have bought all these books except one, which he was ready to return. Although Aplin had won in the Common Pleas, the Superior Court held against him, but the Court of Equity again reversed and let him keep the books.[28]

This case gives helpful information as to what books lawyers used in their practice. Only titles are given, but I have filled in the probable authors and dates of publication as follows: Nelson, *Lex Testamentaria* (1724); *Practick Law* (1711); *Universal Office of Justice* (1730/31); Duncomb, *Trials per pacis* (1725); Jacob, *Lex Mercatoria* (1729); *Tennants Law* (1737).

2. The Recalcitrant Apprentice

Here Eleazer Metcalf was plaintiff again, this time seeking damages from John Randall for not living up to the terms of his appenticeship of four years in the saddler's trade. The indenture runs in part: "Taverns and Ale houses he shall not frequent, at Cards, Dice or any other unlawful Game he shall not Play. Fornication he shall not Committ, Nor Matrimony he shall not Contract with any Person, within said Term . . ." The master and his wife promised, among other matters, that they "will find and Provide for and unto s^{d} Apprentice good and sufficient Meat, Drink Apparrel, Washing and Lodging, both in Sickness and health fitting for an Apprentice, During s^{d} Terme and at the End of said Terme to Dismiss said Apprentice with his Common wearing Cloaths And Thirty Pounds in Bills of Publick Credit as the Money now is, at twenty six Shillings for one ounce of Silver, or a good new Suit of Apparel fitt for all parts of his Body at his said Mothers choice." We do not know the precise nature of the breaches charged, but the apprentice countered by claiming a balance due him. There are detailed lists of clothing and medical services

[28] Metcalf v. Aplin, Reel 111.

furnished to him with prices. The apprentice lost in all three courts, in spite of Mrs. Esther Sweeting's affidavit that she had heard Metcalf say "that he was a good sort of Lad and very servisable to him . . ."[29]

3. The Runaway Apprentice

In Bristol, England, in October, 1740, Daniel Connelly a perukemaker of Dublin, aged twenty-six, bound himself to Arthur Tough of Bristol, master of the ship *William*. The indenture provides that Connelly will serve Tough or his assignees four years following his arrival in the Plantations of New York, whither Tough promises to convey him and also allow him during the voyage and the service "all Necessary Cloths, Meat, Drink, Washing and Lodging and all other Necessaries, fit and convenient for him according to the Custom of the said Plantation and as other Servants in such Cases are actually provided for and allowed." When the *William* reached New York, Tough assigned his rights to David Cox, a periwig-maker of that city.[30] By August of 1741, Connelly was not happy in his bargain. A privateer sloop from Rhode Island, of which Charles Davidson of Newport was commander, was lying at Sandy Hook. The temptation to some restive apprentices was too strong to be resisted as one of them, William Quinton, narrates in his deposition of 1742:

That in the Month of August last, he was a Servant to John M^{c}Mullen, of this City Cordwainer at which time he ran away from his s^{d} Master and went on Board a Privateer Sloop belonging to Rhode Island of which Charles Davison was Commander, That on the Twenty third Day of the same Month of August, the said Sloop then lying at Sandy Hook they saw a Boat coming toward the said Sloop, whereupon he the Deponant Together with one Daniel Connelly a Servant then belonging to David Cox, of this City of New York Perukemaker, and two Servants or Apprentices belonging to Humphrey Jones of the Same City Perukemaker who he understood were likewise run away from their Masters were hid away in the said Sloop, before the said Boat was suffered to come on Board, that on the Wednesday following another Boat being coming on Board the said Sloop, the said Daniel Connelly and the Two Servants belonging to said Humphrey Jones were again hid away, That he heard that Cap^{t} Samuel C Tingley came on board the said Sloop in The said Boat, to demand the said Daniel Connelly for the said David Cox which s^{d} Daniel Connelly was then also denied to

[29] Randall v. Metcalf, Reel 11. The provision for money payment to the apprentice is unusual in colonial indentures. See Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), 383–384, 393–399.

[30] On supervision of apprentices in New York, see Morris, *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674–1784* (New York, 1935), 27.

be on Board the said Sloop, That afterwards he the Deponant and the said Daniel Connelly went out in the said Sloop, and that he the Deponant left the said Sloop in Carolina but what is become of the said Daniel Connelly he knows not—

The irate Cox thereupon sent a full-dress power of attorney to Andrew Hunter, a Newport perukemaker, empowering him to have Connelly imprisoned and to sue Davidson for enticing away the apprentice two years and eight months before his time was up. Captain Davidson answered Cox's suit in such evasive terms that his wrong seems clear, but after losing in the two lower courts he persuaded the Court of Equity to let him off with £14 of costs to be paid by the unlucky Cox. Perhaps the Rhode Island tradition of hospitality to runaways from other colonies counted more than an overseas pledge of faith.[31]

4. Too Many Taxes

We get a glimpse of Jewish merchants in Newport in the suit of Jacob Isaacs against William Dyre, a constable. The General Assembly in 1738/39 directed each town to appoint three assessors for rating "Foreigners or strangers as shall come into any Town . . . and there carry on Trade and Business, in proportion to their Trade . . ." Accordingly, in 1742/43, a few months after Isaacs came to Newport from New York, he was taxed £9. When he refused to pay, Wm. Coddington, Junr., J.P., issued to a writ directing Constable Dyre to seize and sell enough of the goods of Isaacs to cover the tax. Shortly afterwards Isaacs sued Dyre in trespass for taking and carrying away "three Peices of Sagathees all of the Value of Twenty four Pounds and fifteen Shillings and to the Plaintiff belonging and other Enormities . . ." Honyman's skill got Isaacs a judgment in both lower courts by persuading them that an old English statute was in force in the colony. In the Court of Equity, however, poor Isaacs lost, not only his Sagathees, but also £29 costs.[32] The assessment roll, which is among the papers, shows similar taxes levied on Abraham Hart and Issachar Polock, who also sued Dyre without success.[33]

[31] Davidson v. Cox, Reel VI. The subject of enticement or privating of servants was always important in the colonies. See Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America*, 414–434. Rhode Island legislation running back to 1647 subjected any person detaining a servant not lawfully dismissed to a penalty of £5, recoverable in an action of debt [Morris, 417]. But Cox did not rely on this legislation; his was an action on the case.

[32] Isaacs v. Dyre, Reel VIII.

[33] See transcription of Minute Book, 152.

5. The Sociable Doctor

The medical profession figures in three cases in quite different ways. In the first of these, Dr. John Brett of Newport had sent Samuel Banister, "Merchant alias Book keeper," a bill for £55, 4*s*., 6*d*. for attendance and drugs furnished to Banister and his family during the year between August 29, 1740, and August 14, 1741. The carefully itemized bill indicates that the charge for a house-visit was about five shillings. Many different drugs are mentioned, with prices.

The merchant's defense was that Dr. Brett often dropped in at his house for a friendly drink, but gave very little professional advice. Sarah Allen, a neighbor, stated that she had seen him "two or three times in a Day come to M^r^ Banisters House and talk about Indifferent Things and Matters, when to her certain Knowledge there was no Sickness in the Family . . ." When illness did come, Dr. Brett arrived too late to do any good. Elizabeth Porter, a girl of fourteen who was apparently a servant in the Banister family, said in her deposition:

. . . that she lived in the House of M^r^ Samuel Banisters from and long before the tenth of August 1740 to and after September 1741 during which time D^r^ Brett used frequently and almost daily to come down to see M^r^ Banister, and that she saw no Sickness in the Family during said time, saving her Mother who was taken with the Colick on a Sunday and the next Day was well again, and D^r^ Brett was sent for and prescribed several things to be sent for from M^r^ Tweedy's [the apothecary's] on said Banisters Account which my Sister Mary went for and brought, and saving Susannah Banister which D^r^ Brett attended and saving Negro Tom's Salivation, and Negro Sambo's kibed [?] Heels; and this Deponent further declares that during said time D^r^ Brett used almost daily to come to M^r^ Banisters House, and more especially in the Winter time, and that M^r^ Banister used to order Punch to be made purely for him, the said Banister seldom or ever having any made for himself in the Winter Season, and this Deponent further declares that after Negro Tom was dead D^r^ Brett came down to see him, went up where he lay and endeavoured to persuade said Negro that he was not dead but had a good Master, and called by Name Tom, Tom don't be sullen, you have got a good Master Tom and Tom not speaking nor stirring the said D^r^ said Tom be dead, and further this Deponent saith that what said Brett did for Negro Sambo during the time aforesaid M^r^ George Maddox gave said Brett his Note of hand for the same, which to the best of this Deponents remembrance amounted to upwards of twelve Pounds and further saith that D^r^ Brett prescribed hot Chamber lye for said Negro's Heels, which the Negro used to wash himself with, and sometimes she saw D^r^ put Plaisters of Salve upon his Heels and further this Deponent saith not.

The doctor's witnesses, however, pictured a hypochondriac wife and a household visited by frequent illnesses with everybody constantly turning to Dr. Brett for comfort and succor. Sarah Butler Matthew Collingwood was the star witness and deposed:

... that she from the Summer 1740 to the Midsummer 1741 had a very great acquaintance and Itimacy [*sic*] with M^r^ Samuel Banisters Family and that during that time M^rs^ Banister was daily making complaints to her (whilst she was in Maddox's House) of the ill State of her Health, and has frequently told this Deponent that her Disorders were such that she was constantly taking some Stuff or other, and that from D^r^ Brett, and further said that was it in D^r^ Bretts Power by giving her Medicines to order so that she should be with Child she should think that she could never do enough for him, and that at one time M^rs^ Banister was taken with a Flax and she laid in the Bed Room and this Deponent carried a Bottle of Claret and that at that time this Deponent understood that D^r^ Brett had the Care of her, and this Deponent further saith that M^rs^ Banister said that the Things she had took from D^r^ Brett had done her little or no good, nor what she had taken from any other Person in the time of her Sickness, and that M^rs^ Eccles was then and there present when the D^r^ came in, and said Eccles assisted in turning the wine. This Deponent further saith that at another time Suse Banister was ill in the Bed room of a Fever, and that whilst this Deponent was there D^r^ Brett came in and went to the Child being much expected and looked out for by Mary Porter several times: this Deponent further saith that some time in the Winter Mary Porter was sick, and this Deponent going to see her, was informed by M^rs^ Banister that that was the second Day of her Illness and that she had been giving her a Vomit; the next Day this Deponent heard from the Family that she still continued sick, and was so to the best of her Knowledge several Days after, and that D^r^ Brett had the Care of her, and that M^rs^ Eccles was present when this Deponent was there, and that M^rs^ Banister told her that she was in such a faint and weak Condition as hardly to be able to crawl about, This Deponent further saith that M^r^ Banister was taken ill at Church, and afterwards told this Deponent that he was obliged to send for D^r^ Brett. This Deponent further saith that at another time Sus: Banister was sick so as to keep her Chamber some Weeks and that after M^r^ Collingwood came home M^rs^ Banister was sick and bled by M^r^ Collingwood and afterwards sent for D^r^ Brett as the D^r^ told me, and this Deponent also further saith that during her acquaintance with M^rs^ Banister she heard her making general Complaints of her Disorders, and from the time that D^r^ Robinson was discharged this Deponent beleives that M^rs^ Banister was always under D^r^ Bretts Care.

The doctor also produced the account book of John Tweedy, the apothecary, which showed drugs sold to Banister on many different days.

Dr. Brett fared well. The lower courts gave him his full claim. The Court of Equity merely knocked ten pounds off his bill, perhaps consider-

ing that sum to represent the visits when he took in punch instead of giving out medicines.[34]

6. The Perplexed Doctor

Dr. Theodore Coker of Providence was summoned on April 13, 1740, to attend John Wickes of Warwick, who had "a great Swelling in his Scortum or Body and thereby was greatly indisposed so that of his Life it was despaired." According to Dr. Coker, Wickes by August 28 "was perfectly recovered of his Indisposition . . . by the skill and industry of the Plaintiff." Wickes certainly lived long enough to be elected an Assistant in 1741,[35] but he died soon afterwards without settling the doctor's bill for £152, 4*s*. His son and executor, John, when sued by Dr. Coker in May, 1742, refused to pay, put in very technical defenses, and lost in the Common Pleas. Aplin succeeded in cutting the bill down to £80 in the Superior Court; but, as his client was still determined to pay nothing, he asked the Court of Equity to reverse the judgment "Because it appears by good Evidence that the Said Theodore Never cured the Malady or wound Mentioned in his Declaration but that his Administrations Used in Said performance were altogether bad and had his Advice been further pursued the Said John Muste have perished under his Hand." Honyman then played his trump card, a deposition from the famous Dr. William Douglass of Boston, who had been called into consultation at the patient's home.

Dr. Douglass (1691-1752) appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*,[36] and our fellow-member, Dr. George Minot, has kindly given me the following memorandum about him:

> The only man in Boston who had an M.D., in 1730. He received it from Edinburgh. He was conceited, injudicious, inaccurate and contentious. He was opposed to Nicholas Boylston. In 1736 he wrote on scarlet fever. The book was called *A New Epidemical Eruptive Miliary Fever with an Angina Ulcusculosa.* Douglass an acute observer as shown by this report on scarlet fever. He was opposed to Boylston's inoculations for smallpox but as time went by he believed in Boylston's work.
>
> Douglass had been in Boston three years when in 1721 the sixth epidemic of smallpox hit the town. It came from Barbados. Lady Mary Wortley Montague was active in Constantinople in 1716. The opponents of Boylston used the *New England Courant*, the newspaper of James Franklin, the father of Ben, and Douglass was on the anti side in this correspondence. Later on, however, as

[34] Brett v. Banister, Reel IV.

[35] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, v. 38.

[36] *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 407–408.

noted above, he considered Boylston's work "a considerable improvement in physic."

His paper on scarlet fever was published twelve years before Fothergill's classic. A paper about Douglass appears in the *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History*, Chicago, for the year 1921-22. Also see Henry R. Viets' book called *A Brief History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, published in 1930.

Douglass was undoubtedly one of the few leaders of the time. He was active in forming the first medical society. Sylvester Gardiner, 1708-1786, was a younger competitor. James Lloyd, 1728-1810, came to Boston the year that Douglass died.

Douglass was a philanthropist. He indeed was a student of botany. He was thoroughly interested in economics. He gave money to the town of Douglas, Massachusetts, which was named for him. He wrote two volumes on the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was a one-sided man as shown by these books. However, he did have widespread interests as mentioned above, and including natural history. John Warren, the younger brother of Joe, was taught particularly by James Lloyd.

The Boston physician gave vigorous support to his Providence confrère, declaring:

That some time in Aprill 1740 he in consultation with Doctor Coker of Providence did visit and advise John Wickes of Warwick Esq[r] in a most difficult and dangerous Scortal Tumour for single visit and advice Esq[r] Wickes of him self without any special demand gave me a Fee of Twenty three Pounds The Case being of a very extraordinary and difficult nature required in the Practitioner (who made conscience of his undertaking) a very great application and expence of time in private to consult and read the best Authors upon the subject as also with ruminating with himself. The like cure in any of the most polite parts of Europe would have been reckoned by all of the Profession a very great and meritorious performance—It has always been a custom all the world over where the Case is dangerous and the performance extraordinary to allow a generous Quantum meruit, thus it is in delivering difficult Births, in cutting for the Stone etc, in this Case there was an Addition of a considerable long attendance and at a considerable distance.

Dr. Simeon Brown of Smithfield stated that, while he was Dr. Coker's apprentice, he had been sent to dress the wound of Wickes, who asked him "why Coker did not come himself." Lettice Kelly, the doctor's servant, remembered that Dr. Coker "was sundry times called upon to goe from home to People that were sick, but that he neglected going by reason as the Deponent then understood the said Theodore Coker had Esq[r] Wickes of Warwick so he was there under an indisposition under his immediate Care."

John Aplin did his best for the defense. He produced Abraham Francis, a Warwick "Merchant," who told about the illness of his neighbor:

. . . the said Wickes often requested the said Coker to open the place where the disorder was but the Doctor absolutely refused so to do telling the said Esq[r] Wickes that it was so much as his life was worth to open it and that he did not care to do it, upon which Esq[r] Wickes said he would have it don and if he would not do it, he would get some other Person to do it.

Contrary to the usual practice in these cases, the witness not only wrote out a deposition but submitted at the same time to an interrogation, during which, besides saying that Wickes had offered Dr. Brett of Newport £100 to cure him, he gave lurid details about the tumour:

Quest Did you see Doctor Coker open the Sore

Ans I did not see Doctor Coker open the Sore first but I always understood by their conversation he did do it, and I see him open it afterwards when it had grown up and I see him taste of the matter that came out, and I asked him what he tasted of it for and the Doctor told me to see if it was well digested

Other witnesses for the Wickes estate were Randall Holden of Warwick, who had heard Dr. Coker tell his patient "that if he should open the place where the distemper lay he was afraid it would kill him or that it was as much as his life was worth to open it"; and Dr. Ephraim Bower of Providence, who gave twenty shillings as his usual charge for a journey from Providence to Warwick besides advice and medicines.

Dr. Douglass carried the day and the Court of Equity awarded Dr. Coker his £80.[37]

7. The Seafaring Doctor

The last medical plaintiff was Dr. Robert Keith, a resident of Newport, who had joined the privateer sloop *Mary* as ship's doctor at St. Kitts in the West Indies. The commander of the *Mary* was William Wilkinson of Newport, the defendant. According to the Articles of Agreement, the complaint avers:

. . . the Defendant did agree and promise that the Doctor of said Privateer or whoever was at the Expence of the Chest of Medicines should have and receive the Sum of Two Hundred Peices of Eight of eight Ryals each for the Chest of Medicines provided 'twas well furnished and one Share and a half for the Doctor (the Plaintiff) And all Things that should be taken belonging to the

[37] Wickes v. Coker, Reel IV.

Surgeon of any Prize as Instruments, Medicine Chest and Cloaths (Gold Silver and Merchandize excepted)

This was during the War of Jenkins's Ear. Several Spanish vessels were taken and condemned by the Court of Admiralty in Newport, but Dr. Keith was not paid his share of the proceeds of the "dry Goods of several sorts, Gold Dust and Silver Money together with the Tackling Furniture Guns and other Warlike Stores belonging to the said Vessels." Hence he sued Captain Wilkinson for £234, 18*s*., 6*d*., which looks like his correct share of the prize-money, but the Court of Equity reduced the judgment to £169. Particularly interesting is the copy of the complete Articles of Agreement, which is not unlike the agreement between pirates quoted by Updike.[38]

8. The Overzealous Privateer

Benjamin Haszard, Robert Carr, John Easton, all of Newport, merchants, and Jonathan Haszard of South Kingstown, yeoman, brought an action of trespass against John Rous of Charlestown in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, captain of the Billander privateer *Young Eagle*, for £10,000 for seizing their sloop *Kingstown* with her cargo. Although Captain Rous was served with process in Boston, he thought it prudent to appear in Newport because he had given a heavy bond to conduct his privateering lawfully.[39]

According to the deposition of Captain Thomas Haszard of the *Kingstown*, he sailed from Leogan in Hispaniola on March 1, 1741, having on board as owners' cargo "above Thirteen thousand Gallons of Molasses and Three Thousand Weight of Sugar or more and about fifteen Pounds of Indigo." On March 18, in latitude 35° N., longitude 70° W., the sloop was taken by the Billander, he narrates, "after he had brought me to by firing several Swivell Guns and small arms shott at us." A boat from the privateer then took Captain Haszard and seven of his men aboard, where they were questioned by Captain Rous. Since England was at war with Spain, the privateer was out for booty. Even though the sloop was clearly not Spanish, the precise scope of lawful trade between the English colonies and the French West Indies was apparently doubtful enough to make the Rhode Islanders feel that they were in a tough spot. They had thrown their papers overboard, so the privateer's master deposed, and tried to get rid of their English flag while professing that the sloop was the

[38] Wilkinson v. Keith, Reel VII; Updike, *op. cit.*, 292–293.

[39] The file papers contain the bond and some interesting material on intercolonial legal formalities.

French vessel *La Paon* bound for Cape Breton. The record contains amusing accounts of the seamen's conflicting stories and futile attempts to pass themselves off as Frenchmen. They produced French papers, a fictitious list of the crew, and one Pierre Richard who came forward as captain although (so some of the crew said) he had come aboard as "Peter" and been "only a common man on board" except on awkward occasions when the sloop's nationality was challenged. Captain Rous became suspicious because "there were so many different stories" and decided to take the captured sloop into Charleston for adjudication in a prize court as required by the royal Instructions to commanders of privateers.[40] Evidently he was so reluctant to let the rich cargo of the *Kingstown* go that he rashly assumed that trade between Newport and Hispaniola somehow violated treaties between Great Britain and France and thus fell within the *Young Eagle's* authority to seize not only vessels and goods of the subjects of the King of Spain, but also "such other Ships, Vessels and Goods as are or shall be liable to confiscation pursuant to . . . Treaties . . ."

In the Vice-Admiralty Court of South Carolina the decree by Judge James Greene recites the contentions of the parties at length. It takes no stock in the cock-and-bull story of Pierre Richard that he had bought the sloop in the West Indies for 1,600 pieces of eight and changed her name to *Paon* and loaded her with a cargo on behalf of himself and other French subjects. This must have made Captain Rous happy, but not for long. Judge Greene went on to say briefly that the voyage of the *Kingstown* had violated no treaty or other law, and ordered her return to Rhode Island owners after they had settled matters with the customs authorities in Charleston.

Captain Haszard once more resumed command while Pierre Richard faded away, but by the time the *Kingstown* sailed out of Charleston harbor her Rhode Island owners (so they aver) had incurred expenses of £4,000 in South Carolina currency because of the capture and loss of some of the molasses and considerable sugar which had been carried aboard the privateer. "The Bag of Indigo was also gone and about twenty gallons of Rum and several Water hogsheads and a Bung Boarer and Tap Boarer, a Drawing Knife and a Saw, four Pewter Plates, One large Pewter Dish, Six Knives and Six forks was also wanting; . . . The Sloops Jib was tore all to Peices whilst Captain Rous was carrying said Sloop to South Carolina and her main Sail and Foresail much Damaged."

For all these damages, a sympathetic Newport jury found that the overzealous privateersmen from Boston ought to pay their fellow Rhode

[40] A copy of the Instructions is in the file papers.

Islanders £8,000 in current money of the Colony. Although this was much the largest sum awarded in any of the transcribed cases, the plaintiffs did not regard it as sufficient compensation. They appealed and so, naturally, did Captain Rous. The Superior Court stuck to £8,000. Both sides again appealed. The Court of Equity cut Captain Haszard and his associates down to £5,000. In no way discouraged, both sides went up to the Privy Council, but what happened there remains unknown.[41]

9. Bad Luck in the West Indies

The extent of Newport trading to the West Indies is further illustrated by the action of Jonathan Clark against Isaac Beauchamp. Clark was mate and Beauchamp master of the sloop *Humbard,* which was lost during the voyage. Apparently Clark blamed Beauchamp for the disaster and sued for his share in the trading venture. The defendant defaulted in the Common Pleas and was found liable for 618 "livres current money of the Island of Hispaniola" or in lieu thereof £103 Rhode Island money. The Superior Court affirmed, but the Court of Equity cut down the damages to 518 livres or £86, 6*s.*, 8*d.*

The interesting document in the case is an affidavit made on the master's behalf at Charleston by John Crusey, mariner, about a year after the loss of the *Humbard.* Being at Mount Christe, he swears he and Clark were ordered by Beauchamp "to go five days Cruse between Mount Christe and Turks Islands but meeting with bad Weather and Calms, could not reach the said Mount Christe till nine Days after then coming to an Anchor sent the Boat ashore for the said Master Isaac Beauchamp, that under point of Corke [?] met with a French Guard la Coste who took the said Boat, and beat the Men on board to make them confess where the said Master was they told them that he was ashore atrading and Receiving his Debts. They also asked them where the said Sloop lay, they told them at Mount Christe whereupon the said Guard la Coste maned the sd Boat and their own Boat and went and took the said Sloop *Humbard* in the Night, And this Deponant further saith That the said Jonathan Clark was always in Liquor on the said Cruse . . ."[42]

10. Dirty Work on the High Seas

Christopher Almy, a Newport merchant, sued Thomas Manning, mariner, for throwing two of Almy's horses overboard from Almy's sloop

[41] Rous v. Haszard et als., Reel VII.

[42] Clark v. Beauchamp, Reel II.

Eagle "on the main Ocean." Among other sailors testifying against the "ill natur'd" defendant, John Grant swore that "He saw Thomas Manning Take the Ax and Cut the Brest Rope and took Two Horses and threw them overboard and got another to heave over board without any orders or reason so to do and Ephraim Tiffeny who was Master of said Vessel came forward and see it and forbid him, this he did of his Own Will without the orders of the Captain or any one on board being ill Humor'd."

Manning's lawyer, Matthew Robinson, objected that a wrong avowed to be done on the high seas belonged in the Admiralty Court. This technical point was brushed aside by the lower court, which gave the bereaved horse-owner £40. For some reason hard to understand, the Court of Equity let off Manning and made Almy pay £12, 9*s.* costs.[43]

11. The Dishonored Draft

Still another voyage to the West Indies brought about the only appearance of negotiable instruments in the transcribed records. David Vanbrough and Samuel Carpenter, Jamaica merchants, sued Joseph Power of Newport, mariner, averring that on April 15, 1741, Power at Kingston drew a set of three bills of exchange on John Brown, John Banistor, and William Mumford, merchants in Newport, payable at twenty days after sight to the plaintiffs' order for £632 Jamaica currency (at the rate of 27*s.*, 6*d.* per ounce Rhode Island currency) for necessaries furnished to their sloop *Victory*, of which Power was master. The Newport partners had peremptorily refused to accept (obligate themselves to pay) when the first bill of the set was presented to them in Newport by Carpenter and James Martin, the sole notary public in the colony. Power was consequently sued as drawer. He was held liable in the Common Pleas and the only result of his appeal to the Court of Equity was to increase the damages. The case leaves him on his way to the Privy Council.

Presumably the dishonor was not on the ground that Captain Power had improperly charged his expenses in Jamaica to the owners, for several months after they refused to pay his draft they showed their confidence in him by having him appear on their behalf in the Vice-Admiralty Court in Newport, where the *Victory* was described as a brigantine.[44] The owners were probably trying to avoid paying the bill because of some

[43] Manning v. Almy, Reel IV.

[44] *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island*, 154–160.

dispute over the quality or amount of the supplies put aboard the *Victory* while she was in Jamaica.[45]

12. The Baffling Bitch

Life ashore in Rhode Island must have been pretty quiet at the time of these records. Except among the Newport merchants, not much was happening so far as this litigation shows. Still, dogs are a perennial cause of excitement in all ages, and two of the transcribed cases illustrate the controversies into which men can be thrown by their oldest friend among the quadrupeds.

On the morning of May 29, 1742, a Newport butcher, Henry West, who was keeping some sheep in John Bennett's pasture, discovered that his proposed slaughter of the animals had been anticipated by dogs. Seven sheep and four lambs lay dead. West promptly went to Nathaniel Coddington, the tanner, and charged Coddington's bitch with participation in the canine crime. Sure of his bitch's innocence, Coddington accosted William Read, a merchant, as he was coming along the street and begged him to look at the bitch, which was then lying in Coddington's yard, and "pass his judgment" whether the animal had been killing sheep that morning. Read, who evidently regarded himself as an expert in such matters, looked the bitch over and exonerated her "by reason there was no appearance like any such thing" as having killed sheep that morning, "the Bitch not panting nor yet being worried." Another expert witness for the defense was Stephen Hookey, a shipwright, who joined Read in the tannery yard. According to Hookey's deposition, he "viewed said Bitch and took up her feet and felt of her Body and there was no Blood on her feet nor she was in no way sweaty and further this Deponent saw said Bitch not above

[45] Power v. Vanbrough and Carpenter, Reel VII. John Brown, one of the drawees in this case, should not be confused with John Brown of the well-known mercantile family in Providence. Professor James B. Hedges has kindly aided my search for the co-owner of the *Victory* by writing: "Apparently there were two business men in Newport in 1742 by the name of John Brown. One of these was a first cousin of the father of the four brothers in Providence and, of course, a first cousin of Obadiah, the uncle of the four brothers. He died in Newport in 1764. This information I find in *The Chad Brown Memorial*. The other John Brown of Newport is referred to in George Mason's *Annals of Trinity Church*. A note on page 131 says 'he was a merchant engaged in commercial pursuits, and with Godfrey Malbone and George Wanton fitted out privateers in the second Spanish war.' The Browns of Providence had some business relations with 'John Brown' of Newport, but I have never been able to determine whether he was their distant cousin or the John Brown referred to by George Mason. I see no way by which one can be certain of the identity of these two men."

half an hour before he was called to see her pass by his Door and further this Deponent saith that there was a Man by at the same time and viewed said Bitch and said he was well acquainted with Dogs that had been killing of Sheep and said he was well satisfied that said Bitch had not been killing of Sheep that day . . ."

These two masters of diagnosis were supported by eyewitnesses, John Jeffers and Peter Crandell. "They saw severall People as they were coming from said Jeffer's Mill in Pursuit of a Bitch which They afterwards understood had been killing some Sheep in John Bennetts Ground belonging to Henry West and further those Deponents say that the Bitch they were following of was a Bitch with long Dugs to the best of their Remembrance and that the Bitch which William Dyers and others were in pursuit of seem'd to be so tired that she could hardly get out of the Horses way And further those Deponents say that some time after Isaac George was at said Jeffer's Mill and told us that his Bitch[46] was charged with killing of Henry West's Sheep in John Bennetts field some time past whereupon we desired him to bring his Bitch and let us see her and They could tell whether it was the same Bitch that William Dyer and others were in pursuit of as abovesaid and it was our Opinion that it was not she not having any long Duggs . . ." Newport people must have talked of little else that day.

Six months later the bereaved butcher sued Coddington and a "house carpenter" named Robert Bennett,[47] who was evidently a dog-owner too. The action was based on the 1698 statute on the liability of dog-owners for the death of sheep, with double damages for the second offense.[48] West got a verdict in the Common Pleas for £30, 9*s*., recoverable from the two defendants half and half. The jurymen must have disbelieved the experts and sensed the flimsiness of the witnesses' inferences. The Superior Court, however, put all the blame on Bennett's dogs and valued the dead sheep at £15, 4*s*., 6*d*. Bennett admitted the fault of his dogs, but claimed a deduction for the money West had made by disposing of the dead sheep, we hope not as mutton. West also appealed to the Court of Equity in order to get relief against Coddington. Once more the bitch was found guilty. In spite of her unworried look after the tragedy, her owner had to pay £11 to the butcher, the same sum as Bennett.[49]

[46] We must assume that George worked for Coddington and that George's bitch was identical with Coddington's bitch.

[47] Not to be confused with John Bennett in whose pasture the sheep were killed.

[48] *Rhode Island Acts and Laws* (Newport, 1767), 75.

[49] West v. Coddington and Bennett, Reel VI.

13. Was it a Wolf?

On the other side of Narragansett Bay too, dogs had their difficulties. The problem of identification of the murderer of sheep arose in a different way in East Greenwich. On April 28, 1743, Richard Mayhew, yeoman, had fourteen lambs killed and accused the dog of Richard Nicholls, "labourer alias husbandman." Mayhew sued Nicholls for a pound per victim, averring that he knew his dog was accustomed to kill sheep and lambs. This bucolic controversy over £14 occupies more space in these records than almost any other case. No fewer than eleven citizens of East Greenwich, Warwick and Coventry gave depositions for the lamb-owner in the Common Pleas. They left little doubt of the slaughterous propensities of the Nicholls hound. He was plainly capable of attacking Mayhew's lambs, but the evidence of his presence at the *locus in quo* was woefully weak. Nevertheless, the jury in the Common Pleas gave Mayhew ten guineas.

In the Superior Court Richard Nicholls rallied to the defense of his dog and produced three fresh witnesses on his own behalf. Two of them intimated that the slain lambs in Mayhew's pasture were the offspring of somebody else's ewes. The third, another Nicholls named Thomas from the neighboring town of Coventry, sprang a surprise. On the fatal twenty-ninth of April, he said, "being within a Mile and a half from the now Dwelling house of Richard Mayhew . . . I Saw a Creature which I thought was a Wolf by the Description that I had from People." Upon interrogation, he elaborated as follows:

Q Did You hear any Body say about the Time You saw that creature say They heard Wolves howl?
A Yes.
Q Did you understand what Distance those Wolves were heard from the Place You saw that Creature?
A Two miles and a half or thereabouts.
Q Do You think that Creature You saw killed the said Mayhew's Lambs?
A I don't know what to think about it.

Only a few years before, Israel Putnam had slain a wolf in his den near Pomfret, over the Connecticut border, so that the presence of a wolf in East Greenwich was not impossible. Still, the Superior Court was unconvinced and affirmed Mayhew's judgment for ten guineas. The Court of Equity cut him down to 40 shillings, but he got £20 costs. If the wolf was responsible, Mayhew should have got nothing at all. Probably the Nicholls dog had chased too many sheep in the past to be absolved, but

Mayhew had been so free and easy with other people's sheep that the Court of Equity made a rough guess as to how many of the dead lambs were his.[50]

14. Horse-trading at Freeborn's Tavern

Horses also varied the monotony of country life. In the forepart of the night of October 29, 1742, James Nichols went over from Major James Stafford's house in Warwick to Freeborn's Tavern nearby, on a horse of a whitish color. Thomas Shippey, who rode with him, noticed that Nichols' horse went lame. At the Tavern they were joined by several other men including Benajah Carr of North Kingstown, whom they had recently seen at Stafford's. Shippey soon heard Carr and Nichols "begin to talk about Swopping Horses." They agreed on the exchange, and Carr gave his note for £3 to boot. According to Shippey, Nichols said his horse was "sound wind and limb." After the bargain was completed, the tavern-keeper heard the wily Nichols several times ask Carr to call off the deal and offer to treat Carr with a bowl of punch if Carr would release him. "No," said Carr to Nichols, "I will treat you and let the bargain stand." Nichols answered, "You had better release me, for he is a lame, good for nothing horse." Although Carr had never ridden his whitish acquisition, he stubbornly replied, "No, I will not release the bargain if the horse I had of you had but three legs," and accordingly called for some liquor to treat Nichols and rode off with the horse.

Next August Carr sued Nichols "in an action of the Case for Deceit for that the Defendant deceitfully sold to the Plaintiff one white Gelding horse at the Price of thirty five Pounds warranting said Horse to be Sound Wind and Limb when said Horse at the Time of Sale had one hoof defective and bad so that he is Lame and of no use or Value which the Defendant knew." The Common Pleas and Superior Court sympathetically gave the trusting Carr £35, but the Court of Equity regarded him as having repented of his bargain too late. The deal stood and Nichols got over £12 for costs.[51]

15. Lo, the Poor Indian

The sad plight of the original owners of New England within a few decades after the arrival of white settlers is conspicuous in Massachusetts litigation,[52] and one case in these records indicates that the race fared no

[50] Mayhew v. Nicholls, Reel VIII.

[51] Nichols v. Carr, Reel VII.

[52] *Suffolk County Court Records*, I. lxxxii.

better in Rhode Island despite the efforts of Roger Williams to deal fairly with the Indians. William Heffernan, a Newport vintner, sued Catharine Cooper, an Indian woman. She was described as a spinster though she had at least two children. The action was for the substantial sum of nearly £69, "part for goods sold and delivered part for nursing and attendance found for the Defendant when she lay in of a Child part for bringing up of another Child from eight months old till it was five Years of Age part for Cash advanced on the Defendants account All found provided and done by the Plaintiff for the Defendant and the Remainder for Liquor and Goods of the Plaintiff by the Defendant squandered away and consumed at sundry times . . ." Heffernan alleged that, in order to pay off this heavy debt, the Indian woman promised to bind herself to be his servant for seven years, and yet had fraudulently refused to sign and seal the indenture.

Honyman as her lawyer filed a flat denial. Whatever Heffernan's legitimate outlay may have been, few will regret that all three courts declined to make the forlorn Indian pay a penny and awarded her costs.[53]

16. The Slave Who was "Wild and Free"

Slavery was not treated as undesirable by Rhode Island law until the eve of the Revolution, and one interesting case throws light on slaves' legal status in the colony. Comfort Taylor, a widow from Little Compton, then part of Massachusetts, was on the island of Rhode Island shortly before Christmas in 1742. If she is to be believed, Cuff, a Negro slave of Thomas Borden of Portsmouth, brutally assaulted her and attempted rape. She was so hurt "that of her Life it was despaired . . ." A slave could evidently be made a party defendant in a civil action, for she sued Cuff in trespass for a thousand pounds.

As in Rhode Island tort suits today,[54] the action opened with a writ of civil arrest. Probably the slave was already under a criminal charge, because the writ was served on him in jail. Daniel Updike for the widow rounded up three witnesses, who swore that Mrs. Taylor had made prompt complaint to them of the attack and appeared to be much injured. Matthew Robinson thought it wise for his client Cuff to default at the trial in the lowest court, and the widow recovered £100 and costs. In the Superior Court he agreed to have this judgment affirmed, with liberty to appeal to the Court of Equity. Perhaps, unlike most of the appellants,

[53] Heffernan v. Cooper, Reel VI.

[54] *Rhode Island General Laws* (Providence, 1938), Chap. 559.

he relied on some point of law. At all events his resort to "equity" left him still worse off. The damages were raised to £200 and Cuff was ordered imprisoned until he paid in full.[55]

This was the second Tuesday of October, 1743. The widow lost no time in seeking to turn her assailant's body into cash. Within a fortnight she petitioned the General Assembly for the purpose of cutting off any possible rights of Cuff's master, Thomas Borden. After reciting the judgment of the Court of Equity against Cuff, she stated that "it is not clear that the sheriff can dispose of him, which she apprehends he ought to have power to do, because said negro is not free, but a private property; and therefore prayed that the said sheriff might be empowered to sell him, as other personal estate, taken by execution, to satisfy debts; and considering the great abuse she has suffered, and the charge that will come out of said negro, for prison fees, she desired that the fine of £20 against said negro Cuff might be remitted, otherwise she should get nothing for all the hardships she has endured."

Probably Cuff's fine was in a criminal court. The General Assembly refused to abandon this money for the widow's benefit, but otherwise gave her all she requested. The sheriff was ordered to sell Cuff like any other personal property, pay £20 into the general treasury, deduct all other charges, and turn the rest over to the battered widow. The proceedings concluded: "God save the King."[56]

The End of the Court of Equity

Four months after ordering Cuff to the auction-block the General Assembly sent the Court of Equity into oblivion. When it met in South Kingstown on February 14, 1743/44, it was confronted with a lengthy petition for the abolition of the three-year-old court. The signers were J. Ray (possibly Captain Simon Ray of Westerly, for the name is not clear), William Mumford (possibly the later deputy from Newport), Benjamin Sweet, Arthur Aylsworth (possibly Aylesworth), and Sam Perry (probably the frequently elected deputy from Charlestown, who had been dismissed in 1742 as trustee for Ninigret at the sachem's request).[57] Perhaps Perry, as the best known of the signers, drew the petition.[58] At any

[55] Cuff v. Taylor, Reel VII.

[56] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, V. 72–73.

[57] *Id.*, 38.

[58] A comparison of the handwriting of the body of the petition with the signatures might throw light on this problem. Since the petition is transcribed by Lauterstein and Migdal, I assumed that it is among the Records of the Court of Equity and on the microfilm.

rate, it is the work of a rather able lawyer although full of unfairness.

The petition begins by reciting that the Charter of Charles II limits the power of the colonial government to pass laws "not being contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of this oure realme" and then insinuates that the new court violates this prohibition. The specific charges are that the Court of Equity has "tried and decreed many cases contrary to the Law"; it has revised judgments given upon two jury verdicts, although Chancery in England cannot reverse even one verdict; it has denied appeals to the Privy Council; and it has meddled in matters determinable by the common law, which cannot in England be decided in Chancery. Last, "to save Charges and Trouble many Cases that were intended to be finally tried at the Court of Equity have often passed through the Inferiour and Superior Courts silently and without Trial and been only tried at the Court of Equity which renders the Courts of Law of no Use nor their Juries neither . . ."

These charges are buttressed with learned references to English authorities but no mention of particular litigations where the Court of Equity is accused of going astray. Consequently, it is hard to judge whether there was any basis for the charges. One is made very suspicious by the constant insistence that the Court of Equity must behave exactly like the English Court of Chancery when they obviously had no resemblance.

The peroration prays for a dissolution of the Court of Equity and "that We may all stand or fall by the Courts of Law as it is our Right and only firm Dependance . . ." However unjust its reasoning, the petition struck a responsive chord in the General Assembly. After declaring "Whereas, it is found, by experience, that the trials of causes by the said court of equity is inconvenient, and a great grievance to the inhabitants of this colony . . ." the Assembly repealed the Act of 1741. Any person thereafter aggrieved by any judgment of the Superior Court was to get relief through a second hearing of his cause in the same court, with opportunity for either side to introduce new matter.[59] There is no mention of a renewal of reviews by the General Assembly itself, but they were undoubtedly resumed. Although the deputies had established the Court of Equity to get rid of their own judicial work, they probably regretted this abdication of their power to meddle in litigation. The abolition of the court did not, by its terms, take effect until the first Wednesday of May next, but the records indicate that the judges never sat again.

[59] Bartlett, *op. cit.*, v. 76–78.

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Mr. WILLIAM L. SACHSE:

Harvard Men in England, 1642-1714

IN 1642 Harvard College produced nine graduates. They were the first of a series which would, in increasing numbers, augment and replace those servants of church and state whose training had been acquired in England. The Bay pioneers might well congratulate themselves that men trained in the New England way would henceforth be available. Yet New England was to lose many of this élite. Of the nine charter graduates, seven forsook the colonial scene and sought their fortunes in England. Over a third of Harvard's pre-1660 students went abroad. Even after the reign of the Saints had terminated and the merriest of the Stuarts had returned from his travels, the magnetic force of the populous, wealthy, and sophisticated world of Britain continued to attract a substantial number of Harvard's sons.[1]

Various conditions, English, colonial, and personal, drew even the most intransigent Calvinists to the home of their fathers. Between 1640 and 1660 England took on the aspects of a promised land. Even as the initial graduates received their degrees the motherland was embarking upon a conflict which would produce, for a time, a political and ecclesiastical regime generally acceptable to a majority of New Englanders. These rugged colonists, moreover, were in good repute with the new rulers of England, and Harvard College was known in England as an institution which could be expected to furnish young men who were untainted by the Prayer Book and unlikely to subscribe to the *True Law of Free Monarchies*. Letters describing the many opportunities offered in the new Old England began to reach the frontier. The colonists were for the most part English-born, with relatives and friends and sometimes property interests to lure them home. Thus, during the two decades following 1640, there was a "Great Migration" in reverse, and among the migrants were over fifty Harvard men, about half of the alumni body.

England did not long remain this happy hunting-ground for Puritan

[1] The principal authority for this essay is John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1873–1885), covering in volumes I–III the classes of 1642–1689; continued by Clifford K. Shipton in volumes IV–VII (Cambridge and Boston, 1933–1945), for the classes of 1690–1725. To keep footnotes within bounds citations to this work will be omitted. References will generally be to works supplementing or amending the *Sketches*.

opportunists. In 1658 Oliver Cromwell died, and two years later the Stuarts were back. Preaching and teaching were the only professions for which seventeenth-century Harvard prepared her students in any direct sense. With the restoration of Anglican clergymen and dons and the legislative discrimination against nonconformist divines and schoolmasters, opportunities for the New England graduates largely evaporated. For a time the stream of England-bound Harvardians shrank to a negligible trickle. Only three seem to have gone over between the Restoration and the mid-seventies, and in the decade before 1688 we encounter none. But with the second overthrow of the Stuart system in that year the number increased once more. Altogether, at least sixty-five alumni—a little over ten per cent of that body—went to England between 1660 and 1714, nearly two-thirds of them after the Glorious Revolution.

Under the later Stuarts somewhat different and certainly more secular motives served to draw men across the sea. They now went more to serve Mammon than God: more as traders and travellers, office seekers and agents, and less as divinity students and clerics. And there is another noteworthy difference: while most of those who went to England before 1660 remained there, the majority of those who went thereafter made the round trip. Of the fifty-odd alumni who crossed during the era of Puritan ascendancy, under a fifth returned to the colonies. Despite the reaction of the sixties, with its blighting of careers and hopes, they chose to remain in a royal and episcopal England rather than return to a Puritan frontier. Few of them conformed, and thus few of them prospered; yet they stayed on, hoping that the wheel of fortune would turn. Doubtless the advantages which so many of them had enjoyed under Parliament and Protector made them loath to abandon the scenes of their successes, and to many of them New England, though orthodox, must have looked poor and rough. As for those who crossed over after the Restoration: few went with the intention of settling abroad; they went, rather, on private or public missions, returning home as a matter of course when their business was done. Even so, at least a third of them never returned to the colonies.

In the years before 1660 the withdrawal and permanent expatriation of so many educated men could not but create anxiety among those who stayed at home. We find President Dunster calling the attention of the Massachusetts authorities to the problem of inducing his alumni to remain in America, and as early as 1646 the Commissioners of the United Colonies recognized that steps should be taken so that when scholars "are furnished with learning, in some competent measure, they remove not into other countries, but improve their parts and abilities for the service of the

colonies."[2] New Haven took heed and endeavored to expedite the corn collections,[3] but generally speaking the recommendations were unavailing, and it is unlikely that any colonial device could have succeeded, before Cromwell's death, in restraining the eastward traffic. With the comparatively slight exodus under the later Stuarts colonial apprehensions on this score passed away.

The activities, on English soil, of the Harvard migrants were naturally many-sided. But certain classifications can be drawn. They devoted themselves to further study; they filled pulpits, secured academic posts, practised medicine, and engaged in trade; they claimed inheritances and attended to their English property. Public or private business brought them into the courts and governmental offices of London, and even before the sovereign. The amusements and benefits of travel and the ties of blood led them to see the sights and seek out their kinsmen.

Before the Restoration a considerable number of Harvard men sought to further their English careers by acquiring degrees from Oxford and Cambridge, as well as from Dublin and some continental universities. Three members of Harvard's first class, Woodbridge, Saltonstall, and Brewster, took this course. It was natural enough for Woodbridge to choose Magdalen Hall at Oxford; he had matriculated there in 1638, but left the following year to go to New England. First in his Harvard class, he secured an M.A. and possibly a D.D. from his English alma mater. Harvard men were encouraged to take up residence at the English universities when these institutions adopted the policy of admitting them to advanced standing or *ad eundem* degrees. This was sponsored by President Dunster as early as 1647,[4] and the following year James Ward (1645)[5] was the first to take advantage of it, being incorporated B.A. at Magdalen College, Oxford. Others followed suit: William Stoughton and Joshua Ambrose, for example, at Oxford, and John Haynes, Leonard Hoar, John Stone, and Thomas Parish, Jr., at Cambridge. Some could not stay to finish their course at Harvard; the Hooke brothers, whose mother was related to Oliver Cromwell, went their different ways toward the B.A. at Oxford and Cambridge, and Oxford also attracted Swinnock, Malbon, and Manasseh Matthews. At least a dozen Harvard

[2] *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter cited as *D.A.B.*), under Henry Dunster; *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Editor (Boston, 1855–1861), IX. 82.

[3] *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649*, Charles J. Hoadly, Editor (Hartford, 1857), 318.

[4] *Plymouth Col. Recs.*, IX. 95.

[5] Dates so placed refer to the year of graduation from Harvard.

men secured their M.A. degrees at Oxford and Cambridge prior to 1660. Samuel Mather (1643), the first fellow at Harvard who had been educated there, took an M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin. His younger brother Increase, travelling abroad in 1657, a year after his graduation from Harvard, also gained an M.A. from Dublin, and Nathaniel Brewster took a bachelor's degree in theology there. All these degrees were granted before 1660; during the later Stuart era the close association of Harvard men with the English seats of learning disappeared, except for two champions of the Anglican cause, Samuel Myles and William Vesey, who secured M.A.'s from Oxford in the nineties.

Some of these students obtained desirable academic posts in addition to their degrees. Pembroke College, Cambridge, made fellows of Collins, Haynes, and Stone; Oxford found places at her high tables for Stoughton, Ward, and Saltonstall, the last-named attaining the dignity of the subwardenship of New College. Trinity College, Dublin, employed Samuel Mather as senior fellow, and sought in vain the services of his brother Increase. Such appointments, of course, belong to the Civil War and Interregnum periods exclusively.[6]

A number of Harvardians studied medicine abroad, though only three, James Ward, Henry Saltonstall, and Leonard Hoar, received medical degrees from English universities before 1714. Ward, by the favor of Sir Thomas Fairfax, secured a B.M. at Oxford. Saltonstall's Oxford doctorate constituted a recognition of several years of study at Leyden and Padua, where in 1649 he took an M.D.[7] Hoar (1650) turned to the study of medicine and botany when, at the Restoration, he was deprived of the benefice he had obtained after returning to England in the mid-fifties; by 1671 he had apparently acquired a sufficient knowledge of medicine to be recommended for an M.D. by several members of the Royal College of Physicians, and in the same year he gained a Cambridge doctorate by royal mandate.[8] Thomas Oakes (1662) studied in London. Edward Oakes, who became a licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1661, is described by Munk as a medical student from Harvard's class

[6] For the above students see Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, early series, 1500–1714 (Oxford, 1891–1892); John and John A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part I, to 1751 (Cambridge, 1922–1927); and Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), hereafter abbreviated as *H. C. in 17 C.*, 299–300.

[7] R. W. Innes-Smith, *English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leyden* (Edinburgh, 1932), 203; Leverett Saltonstall, *Ancestry and Descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall* (Cambridge, 1897), 112.

[8] *H. C. in 17 C.*, 300*n*, 394–395.

of 1655.[9] Samuel Bradstreet (1653), in England from 1657 to 1661, probably studied medicine there, for he is known to have subsequently practised it in Massachusetts. Several, besides Saltonstall, studied the science beyond the borders of England. Samuel Bellingham, of Harvard's first class, went to Leyden,[10] and half a century later Rowland Cotton (1696), after travelling to England for his health, took an M.D. at Harderwyck. The name of Edmund Davie (1674) appears on the rolls of Leyden, Padua (where he secured his doctorate), and possibly Montpellier;[11] while John Glover, apparently disappointed in an Oxford fellowship after his graduation from Harvard in 1650, became Aberdeen's first M.D. a few years later.[12]

Most of this medical talent was permanently lost to New England. Only Bradstreet, Hoar, and Thomas Oakes are known to have ever returned to the colonies. Saltonstall, in addition to academic pursuits, served as physician to the parliamentary forces. Glover established himself in London, became an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College, and is said to have died during the plague of 1665, after he "attempted to open a dead corpse full of the tokens."[13] Bellingham spent most of a long life in or near London, and Cotton combined medicine and divinity in Wiltshire. Davie returned from Padua to London, not Boston; there, in the few years remaining to him, he seems to have gained a reputation for scientific learning and research.[14]

One other medic is worthy of special note: George Stirk, a Bermudan who graduated from Harvard in 1646. After practising a few years in Boston he went to England, and there made a name for himself both as a physician and alchemist. Fond of polemics, he launched vigorous attacks on the medical techniques of his time, styling himself a "Professor of that Medicine that is real, not Histrionical." He was said to be the only physician who could cure the plague, but, like Glover, he died of it when he ventured to dissect one of its victims. Stirk claimed that he had been introduced to the art of transmuting precious metals by the shadowy "Eirenaeus Philalethes," and was the author of numerous alchemic works. His

[9] William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (London, 1878), I. 303.

[10] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1935), 143 and *n.*

[11] Innes-Smith, 64.

[12] P. J. Anderson, *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1906), 308.

[13] Munk, I. 334, 345.

[14] See *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, LIII. 377–379.

grounding in chemistry he attributed to Harvard, and, while his acquaintance with the science as an undergraduate must have been extracurricular, he may properly be called Harvard's first chemist. Professor Kittredge described him as "a born fighter" with "no small share of self-assertion"; he was also a trimmer and a publicity seeker. At the Restoration he hastened to jump on the royal bandwagon, though in 1656 he had dedicated his *Nature's Explication* to a regicide Lord Mayor of London. In *Royal and Other Innocent Blood Crying Aloud to Heaven for Due Vengeance*, addressed to Charles II and the Duke of York and published in 1660, he urged retaliation on the Puritans; and he is said to have been the author of *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted* (1660), a rebuttal of Milton's *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, by which he evidently hoped to enhance his reputation at the poet's expense.[15]

In comparison with medicine the law had an almost negligible appeal to Harvard men abroad. This is not surprising. Colonial lawyers were rare and frequently suspect, as is commonly the case in a backwoods society; formal, organized legal education did not exist in the Stuart colonies. If Anthony Wood is correct in saying that Sampson Eyton spent eight years studying at "Harwarden" College, he probably merits the distinction of being the first Harvard student to enter the inns of court; for Eyton, an Oxford M.A. in 1652 and a Fellow of University College, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1658.[16] With Benjamin Lynde (1686) we are on firmer ground. Following the advice of his father, a prosperous Massachusetts merchant and judge, Lynde took ship for England in 1692 to qualify himself as a barrister-at-law; he was admitted to the Middle Temple in the same year and a few years later was called to the bar. Having secured, as he wrote, "a commission under the great Seal, for King's Advocate in the New Court of Admiralty in New England," he returned to New England with his clerk late in 1697.[17] There he was appointed to the Superior Court of Massachusetts—the first formally educated lawyer, it appears, to attain that eminence—and ultimately succeeded Samuel Sewall in the

[15] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, hereafter abbreviated as *D.N.B.*; George L. Kittredge, "George Stirk, Minister," our *Publications*, XIII. 16; *H. C. in 17 C.*, 235; introduction by William R. Parker to G. S., *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted* (New York: Facsimile Text Society, 1942).

[16] Anthony Wood, "Fasti Oxonienses" (appended to his *Alumni Oxonienses*) (London, 1721), 100; Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, Editor (Cambridge, 1936), I. 97*n*; *Alumni Oxonienses*; Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889* (London, 1889), 286. There appears to be no Harvard record of Eyton.

[17] *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.*, F. E. Oliver, Editor (Boston, 1880), x.

highest judicial post in the colony. Lynde's career was paralleled to a considerable extent by that of Paul Dudley (1690). After reading law for a short time in Boston he too complied with the wishes of his father, Joseph Dudley, who was then in England, and entered the Middle Temple in 1697. He was called to the bar in 1700. After some lean years fortune favored the Dudleys, and in 1702, when the elder Dudley returned to Massachusetts as Governor, Paul accompanied him as Attorney-General. Like Lynde he rose to be Chief Justice, succeeding him in 1745. Two other Harvard alumni may have attended the inns of court before 1714. According to E. Alfred Jones, William Dudley, the Governor's second son, having graduated from Harvard in 1704, was admitted to the Middle Temple two years later, after which he returned to a public career in Massachusetts; and he also states that the Thomas Banister who graduated from Harvard in 1700 is the one who entered the Inner Temple in 1710.[18]

Unlike the colonial bar, the ministry was in the seventeenth century a profession—indeed, the only profession—composed for the most part of university men. Harvard's main purpose being to train young men in divinity, it is to be expected that a large number of her sons who went to England sought ecclesiastical preferment. Before 1660 no less than thirty-five of them wore the cloth in the British Isles. Chaplaincies of various kinds were then numerous. George Downing's phenomenal English career had its beginnings in a regimental post of this sort. Calamy says that John Collins (1649) served as chaplain to General Monk, and we know that he was appointed to preach before the Council in Scotland in the days of the Protectorate.[19] In 1659 Roger Alsop's regiment at Dunkirk was attended by Chaplain Ichabod Chauncy, a Harvard B.A. in 1651.[20] Increase Mather briefly ministered to the Governor of Guernsey. Oxford colleges employed the services of Samuel Mather and Joseph Swinnock, and the former was for a time chaplain to the Lord Mayor of London, a berth which gained for him many advantageous contacts. Like Collins, he became an official divine, being in 1654 recommended to preach before the Council in Ireland.[21] Walter Hooke went much farther afield; after

[18] E. Alfred Jones, *American Members of the Inns of Court* (London, 1924), 14, 66–67. There is nothing to this effect in Sibley.

[19] *D.N.B.*; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1654*, 194, 450 (hereafter abbreviated as *Cal. S. P. Dom.*).

[20] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1659–1660, 151.

[21] *Alumni Oxonienses*; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, 1853–1855), II. 43–44; Arnold G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: being a Revision*

securing his B.A. at Cambridge in 1657 he became a chaplain in the service of the East India Company and died in the Orient in 1670.[22]

Many parochial openings for Harvard-trained men were created by the defeat of the royal forces in the forties and the attendant eclipse of Anglicanism. No less than a third of the parish priests were dispossessed of their benefices upon the triumph of the Roundheads; but it was easier to oust the old clergy than to find satisfactory replacements. Under the circumstances the products of such a staunchly puritan institution as Harvard College enjoyed particular favor; God, as some London divines put it, used Harvard "for service to himself in both Englands." Around thirty rectories, vicarages, and curacies fell to Harvard men; they were located in at least fifteen of the English counties—mostly in the south and in East Anglia—as well as in Ireland and Wales. Isaac Chauncy's and Leonard Hoar's livings were presented by the Protector himself. Cromwell also had a high regard for Nathaniel Brewster, whom he recommended as "a very able holy man"; and his kinsman, John Hooke, evidently found favor in his eyes.[23] Cromwell's efforts to puritanize Ireland drew several graduates thither. Samuel Mather, besides preaching to the Irish Council, officiated in two Dublin churches. Like Mather, Nathaniel Brewster went to Ireland in the train of Henry Cromwell, the Lord Deputy; but he did not long remain there. Edmund Weld (1650) was a Cromwellian chaplain, who settled as an Independent minister in Ireland and lived there till he died.[24] Increase Mather, drawn to Dublin by his brother's prominence there, secured a parish in Ulster, but although the Lord Deputy assured him that he would never lack encouragement in Ireland, he soon left, preferring to try his fortune on English soil.[25] On the whole the Harvard graduates in England seem to have been disinclined to reside in Ireland, even as the New Englanders in general were averse to moving there, despite Oliver's entreaties.

of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660–2 (Oxford, 1934), 344.

[22] Morison, *Founding of Harvard*, 382; Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras* (London, 1904), I. 48, 662–663.

[23] Matthews, 112, 269; *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, Thomas Birch, Editor (London, 1742), I. 564; III. 559.

[24] *D.N.B.*; St. John D. Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland* (Oxford, 1921), 223. For Henry Cromwell's efforts to induce President Dunster to move to Dublin, and the invitations extended to other New Englanders to settle in Ireland, see Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, 317; Seymour, 103, 224.

[25] Kenneth Ballard Murdock, *Increase Mather, the Foremost American Puritan* (Cambridge, 1925), 62.

Some of these clergymen gained a more than parochial importance. John Bulkeley, John Hooke, Urian Oakes, Comfort Starr, Benjamin Woodbridge, and Nathaniel Brewster all served as assistants to the lay commissioners responsible, by the Ordinance of 1655, for the ejection of "scandalous, ignorant and insufficient" clergymen and schoolteachers.[26] Samuel Mather was a commissioner for the approbation of ministers in county Cork; his brother Nathaniel was a member of the Devon Association. Comfort Starr was summoned to attend the Savoy Conference of 1658, where about two hundred Congregational delegates drafted *A Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and Practised in the Congregational Churches in England.*[27]

With the restoration of the Stuarts these Harvard divines found themselves, for the most part, in a difficult position. Late in 1660 the royal assent was given to an act restoring sequestered clergymen, and in 1662 the Cavalier Parliament pronounced non-episcopal ordination invalid and forced all clergymen to subscribe to the Prayer Book and to promise to conform to the Anglican liturgy, under penalty of being deprived of their livings. A few of the Harvard-bred ministers conformed. Edward Rawson (1653) petitioned that he might retain the rectory which he had held since 1656, claiming that he had suffered for orthodoxy and loyalty; in this he was unsuccessful, but the Church found employment for him elsewhere.[28] Joshua Ambrose (1653), though deprived of his curacy in Lancashire, soon conformed, for he was Vicar of Childwall in 1664.[29] Another Lancashireman, John Angier, also in the class of 1653, who had made the round trip from Emanuel College to Harvard and back to Ringley Chapel, conformed in 1662.[30] John Whiting (1657) died "a Godly Conformist," having become Rector of Leverton. Manasseh Matthews, who left Harvard to matriculate at Oxford in 1658, and John Haynes (1656), Logic Lecturer at Cambridge and Fellow of Pembroke College, probably enjoyed no cure before the Restoration; both certainly conformed, Matthews securing preferment in Glamorganshire and Haynes being ordained at Ely in 1663.[31] Others, though they did not yield, were sorely tempted. Cotton Mather tells us that his father, In-

[26] C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* (London, 1911), II. 968 ff.

[27] Matthews, lxxii, 344, 460.

[28] *Id.*, 404; *Cal. S. P. Dom., 1661–1662*, 39, 48.

[29] Matthews, 9.

[30] *Alumni Cantabrigienses.*

[31] *Id.*; *Alumni Oxonienses.*

crease, was urged to come into the national church, but declined, despite lucrative offers. The Presbyterian Benjamin Woodbridge, though he was made a royal chaplain at the Restoration and might have had a stall at Windsor, in the end stayed with the Dissenters.

The majority remained true to their religious convictions, and found themselves thrust from their churches. In most instances they continued to preach as best they could, thereby incurring occasional penalties. Isaac Chauncy, for instance, having lost his rectory at Wanstead, served as pastor to the Congregationalists of Andover. Absence from church—that is, from the Established Church—got him into trouble with the Andover churchwardens in 1664, and a few years later we hear that he was "presented at the Assizes as a seditious person." Henry Butler, forced out of the vicarage of Yeovil, was nonetheless active as a minister there and in four other Somerset parishes late in the sixties, suffering imprisonment and fines for his zeal. Benjamin Woodbridge was another ousted divine who remained active in the community where he had been beneficed. Although the broad-minded and kindly Samuel Mather was permitted at first to continue preaching at St. Nicholas's in Dublin, he soon gave offense by two sermons against episcopacy and the Prayer Book and was silenced by the Earl of Mountrath. That the Earl was not entirely effective in muzzling Mather is indicated by his imprisonment for preaching in 1664. At least two appear to have found a haven as domestic chaplains, for Mather tells us that Urian Oakes was sheltered by Colonel Norton, and John Hooke ended his days at Tangier Park.

In 1672 the skies brightened when Charles issued his Declaration of Indulgence. This permitted Protestant Dissenters to worship in public, and provided for the licensing of their "teachers" and meeting-places. Harvard men known to have secured such licenses were Joseph Farnsworth, William Ames, and Benjamin Woodbridge, as Presbyterians; Comfort Starr and John Collins, as Congregationalists; and Henry Butler, who was licensed as of both denominations.[32] But the Declaration, speedily attacked by Parliament, and thereupon revoked by the King, did not long ease the lot of the Dissenters. Woodbridge was silenced in 1675 by the Bishop of Salisbury, who felt that dissenting ministers did little but "lie gnaweing at the root of government and religion."[33] Ichabod Chauncy, who complained to Increase Mather in 1682 of the miserable plight of Dissenters in Bristol, became an object lesson two years later

[32] For the clergymen in this and the preceding paragraph, see Matthews, *passim*.

[33] *Id.*, xiv, 543; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *14th Report*, Appendix, part II, vol. III (1894), 348.

when, besides incurring an eighteen-weeks' jail term, he was sentenced to forfeit his real and personal estate and to abjure the realm.[34] Economic security was scarcely to be expected by these men. Butler, for years, "had not 20*l. per annum* to live upon"; John Hooke was in 1690 described as having "very little if anything of his own Estate, and but Small recompense of his labours from ye people"; Farnsworth, according to Baxter, "dyed of meer poverty" in London.[35]

During the lean years between the Restoration and the Revolution many dissenting clergymen were forced to resort to other callings in order to make ends meet. A number of Harvard nonconformists fell back on medicine. John Bulkeley, graduated in Harvard's first class, combined spiritual and physical ministrations at Wapping after he lost his Fordham rectory. According to Mather, the sons of Charles Chauncy resembled their father in the possession of "an eminent skill in physick." In England two of them, Ichabod and Isaac, turned to its practice, both acquiring licenses from the Royal College of Physicians. Ichabod, when banished from the realm in 1684, took advantage of his exile to study medicine at Leyden, and upon his return to Bristol early in James's reign he resumed his practice.[36] When Isaac Chauncy grew older and less popular as a preacher he appears to have confined himself for the most part to medicine and teaching. That the New England conscience sometimes boggled at professional formalities is seen in the case of John Allin (1643). After Allin lost the vicarage of Rye he left his family in Rye and went to London, where he is known to have preached during the plague and to have acted as an agent for sailors seeking pay from the government, and where he had some repute as an alchemist. In 1667 he complained that, though qualified for medical practice, he could not secure a license without religious subscriptions which were both unpalatable and unnecessary, for, as he wrote, "a Physitian hath nothing at all to doe either with abrenuntiation of ye Covenant, nor with ye adopting of ceremonyes." Though he did not get his license he nonetheless practised until 1680, when he crossed to New England.[37] All were not so squeamish. Leonard Hoar certainly could not have obtained his Cambridge M.D. without attesting his belief in articles which violated Puritan religious principles.

[34] 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 618; Ichabod Chauncy, *Innocence Vindicated by a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Court of Sessions in Bristol against I. C., Physician* (London, 1684); *D.N.B.*

[35] Matthews, 93, 191, 274.

[36] Mather, I. 475; Munk, I. 354–355, 415–416.

[37] Matthews, 6.

Teaching doubtless helped some to support themselves, but the pickings here were very meager, for Anglican universities had been restored with an Anglican church, and even schoolmasters were forced to subscribe to the Prayer Book. We know that Urian Oakes, a former fellow and future president of Harvard, became master of the Southwark Grammar School; it was probably commoner to act as a tutor, as Nathaniel Higginson did in the household of Lord Wharton, or to provide private instruction for the youngsters of one's loyal and irrepressible co-religionists, as the occasion afforded.

With the Revolution of 1688 the persecution of Protestant dissenters ceased, and a handful of the New Englanders who had weathered the religious blizzards of a generation were rewarded with more comfortable circumstances and some influence. Nathaniel Mather, who succeeded John Collins in an important Congregational pastorate in London, was one of the managers of the Common Fund, established to serve both the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of the metropolis. When the Congregationalists seceded from this organization the straight-laced Mather was one of the founders of the Congregational Fund Board. Isaac Chauncy, another die-hard, was a sympathetic associate of Mather in both these ventures, and Comfort Starr, whose ministerial career in Cumberland, Kent, Berkshire, and Sussex spanned over half a century, received grants from both funds.[38]

It is remarkable that, with conditions so generally unfavorable, so few of these Harvard-trained clergymen left England after the Restoration. Two lived for a time in Holland. Nathaniel Mather was minister at the English church at Rotterdam in 1663, and the title-page of Samuel Malbon's *Death and Life*, published in 1669, describes him as a preacher in Amsterdam. Only six—Allen, Urian Oakes, Hoar, Increase Mather, Brewster and William Stoughton—are known to have returned to the colonies, and the first three remained in England for many years before making the homeward voyage. On the other hand, England was not sought out by Harvardians with clerical ambitions until the days of the Revolution, and even then they were few. Four of these were Anglicans seeking ordination. Since there was no bishop in America it was necessary for them to apply to the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction included the colonies. The first Harvard man to make the trip with this objective was Samuel Myles (1684), for many years Rector of King's Chapel in Boston. This may have occurred around 1688, though perhaps Myles was not ordained until after 1692, when he went to England to seek aid for

[38] *Id.*, 112, 344, 460.

his church and was successful in securing the interest of William and Mary.[39] William Vesey (1693), the noted New York divine, went over for ordination in 1697. During Anne's reign Gershom Rawlins (1705) and Dudley Bradstreet (1698) crossed the sea. Bradstreet, slated to serve a parish at Newbury, Massachusetts, died in London of smallpox a month after his ordination; Rawlins chose to remain in England, where it is known that he was preaching in 1709. Only two or three graduates who went to England after the Restoration settled permanently as nonconformist clergymen there. Increase Mather's son, Samuel, who had accompanied his father on his mission in 1688, returned in the nineties. He inherited money, made a good marriage, and settled as the first Congregational minister in Witney, a small town in Oxfordshire. He was evidently popular, getting along well even with the Anglican clergy, and in 1703 declined to return to the pulpit of the Second Church in Boston. Rowland Cotton, who went to England in the early nineties, halfway through his Harvard course, ultimately succeeded in combining the practice of medicine with ministering to a dissenting congregation in Warminster. Though he contemplated returning to the colonies to save his family from a "loose profane and horribly wicked part of the earth" and hinted that he would accept a New England pulpit, he seems to have prospered in the old country and certainly did not return to America. According to the unreliable Dunton, James Allen (1689) became a minister at Northampton.[40] Between 1692 and 1711 three graduates of note made, as we shall see, somewhat prolonged visits in England. All of them filled dissenting pulpits there. Benjamin Colman (1692), chosen by the Presbyterian Board to preach for an ailing minister in Cambridge, also officiated at Ipswich and, for two years, at Bath, "the best Stirrup in England, whereby to mount the best pulpits that might be vacant."[41] John Barnard (1700), who arrived in England in 1709, preached for several nonconformist clergymen in London and regarded Eltham, in Kent, as his parish, so frequently did he officiate there.[42] Thomas Prince (1707), during his eight-year sojourn abroad, preached in East Anglia at several

[39] Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1880–1881), I. 398; cf. Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1882–1896), 98–99, and John Clement, "Clergymen Licensed Overseas by the Bishops of London, 1696–1710 and 1715–1716," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVI. 346 and *n.*

[40] *John Dunton's Letters from New England*, W. H. Whitmore, Editor (Publications of the Prince Society, Boston, 1867), 76.

[41] Ebenezer Turell, *Life and Character of the Reverend Benjamin Colman* (Boston, 1749), 31.

[42] See his autobiography, 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, V. 199.

places, including Norwich and Great Yarmouth. Although all three were assured of attractive livings in England, they all chose to return to Massachusetts.

Although post-Restoration England became less attractive to professional men, the increase of trade, the ramifications of New England fortunes, and the centralization of empire provided motives for many sojourns abroad. No Harvard alumnus appears to have gone to England for mercantile purposes before 1660, unless Samuel Winthrop—a non-graduate who left college in the forties, sought his fortune in Teneriffe and the West Indies, and married in Holland—touched on British soil.[43] Certainly we encounter no one like Adam Winthrop, of the class of 1668, who resided for some time as a merchant in Bristol, where he married and where his children were born; or like his son and namesake, who, after receiving a Harvard education, was sent to England in 1699 to "enquire into the art and way of merchandizeing" between the old and new Englands.[44] Though the records are sketchy we may safely assume that William Payne, who learned "merchants accounts" after his graduation from Harvard in 1689, and Anthony Stoddard (1697) went to England to learn and transact business; both were abroad but a short time, and both set themselves up as Boston merchants. We know that David Jeffries (1708) bought a vessel on shares and went to London on business in 1712, returning the following year. Francis Wainwright (1707), the son of a wealthy Ipswich merchant, appears to have made a European tour or a business survey, which must have included England; and Addington Davenport (1689) went to England, as well as to Spain and the West Indies, before returning to the marts of Boston around 1692. Among the shipmasters engaged in the London trade was Josiah Willard (1698). Strangely enough he had been a college tutor, who abandoned the library and the classroom, not for the pulpit, which he considered himself too diffident to occupy, but the quarterdeck. Prince tells us that he "shined in the Politeness, Freeness, Openess and Pleasancy of his Conversation."[45] He must have been an exceptional skipper, but he was not unique: John Gore, a librarian at Harvard after his graduation in 1702, also became a sea-captain and did a little privateering on the side.

One of the most successful Harvard mercantile careers was that of Nathaniel Higginson, a Connecticut man and a member of the class of 1670. Four years later he went to England, intending to remain, according to his

[43] See *Winthrop Papers*, v (Boston, 1947), *passim*.

[44] 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 364.

[45] Thomas Prince, *The Character of Caleb* (1756), 20.

father, for seven years; but he stayed about ten, being employed in the mint under Lord Wharton, and as his steward and domestic tutor. In 1684 he went to Madras in the service of the East India Company; here he won the respect of its Governor, Sir Josiah Child, and established himself as a merchant. At the age of forty he was head of the Madras factory, succeeding Elihu Yale, in whose Council Child had given him second place five years before. He also served as mayor of the municipality of Madras and as Lieutenant General of India. In 1700 he "quitted all public employments" and with his family returned to London, where he enjoyed a wide acquaintance among those in power. He was repeatedly urged to return to New England, especially by his brother John, who on one occasion pointed out that he would receive greater respect in Massachusetts than in England, "there being there many that will be your superiors, and many your equals." Samuel Sewall hoped that he might obtain the governorship of the colony, and Nicholas Noyes wrote that "it would be an honor and ornament to Salem to have so honorable and worthy a person well settled in it." But although Higginson contemplated returning to Boston or Salem and conducting "a wholesale trade in East India goods" there, he remained in England until his death.[46] The lure of the East enticed a few other seventeenth-century Harvardians. Like Higginson, Bezaleel Sherman (1661) became a merchant at Madras, where he died; and Chaplain Hooke, as we have seen, ended his life in Masulipatam. It is supposed that Japhet Hobart, who sailed for England as a ship-surgeon after his graduation in 1667, intended to go thence to the East Indies, but he "was never heard of more."

Inheritances and family interests account for the presence of some Harvard men in England. In 1707 John Davie, a graduate in 1681 who was engaged in farming near New London, became Sir John Davie of Creedy when he inherited a baronetcy in Devon reputedly worth four or five thousand pounds a year.[47] He went to England to take possession and, though his interest in the colonies remained keen, America saw him no more. Another graduate, William Whittingham (1660), is supposed to have died in London of smallpox while en route to Lincolnshire to recover possession of an estate; and his son, Richard (1689), occupied the property and died there.[48] One of the reasons for Samuel Sewall's trip to Eng-

[46] *D.A.B.*; 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 208, 212, 213. For Samuel Sewall's attempts to lure Higginson to New England, see 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 216, 250, 256.

[47] *Id.*, I. 348.

[48] Sibley is confused on the Whittinghams. See *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXXII.

land in 1688 was a concern for the family holdings, some of the titles having been called in question; and Nathaniel Saltonstall crossed over around 1702 to attend to his father's property interests, then giving some concern. It is worthy of note that Saltonstall, once in England, remained there for around a quarter of a century.

Public assignments, no less than private affairs, drew a considerable number of colonists to England under the later Stuarts. Harvard men who served as official agents for the colonies before 1714 were Increase Mather and Jeremiah Dummer, serving both Massachusetts and Connecticut; William Stoughton, Peter Bulkeley, Joseph Dudley, Thomas Oakes and Elisha Cooke, for Massachusetts; Fitz-John Winthrop, for Connecticut; George Vaughan and Henry Newman, for New Hampshire; and Ichabod Wiswall, for Plymouth. Most of these agents were commissioned to deal with specific issues, as they arose. Peter Bulkeley and William Stoughton, who went abroad in 1676 to represent the Bay colony in the New Hampshire boundary controversy, were the first graduates to act as agents, in any formal sense. Dudley, who went over in 1682, and Mather, Cooke, and Oakes, who were in London around 1690 as a joint Massachusetts embassy, were dispatched to secure the restoration of the old charter. Wiswall labored in vain to preserve the autonomy of Plymouth. Such missions, even though limited in scope, were frequently time-consuming. Stoughton was abroad for three years, Oakes and Cooke for two, and Mather for four. To Mather, at least, this interlude was far from unpleasant. He was very fond of England, and it was stimulating to be closeted with kings and peers and ministers of state at a time when Nonconformists were temporarily enjoying some political influence, and to make friends with such men as Richard Baxter and Robert Boyle. It was good for the ego to be able to report to the querulous colonists, notoriously ungrateful to their public servants, that he was regarded in England as an indispensable agent, and that he had been urged to remain there for the rest of his days, even as he had been solicited a generation before.[49] On the other hand, Stoughton, who had also been in England as a student and budding cleric, twice refused the agency after he returned to Massachusetts, and Wiswall sought and gained recompense for his hardships and losses as an agent.[50]

234. Richard Whittingham was for many years Collector or Receiver of Lincolnshire: *id.*, XXXIII. 20.

[49] See *D.A.B.*; Mather, I. 197–202; 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 140*n*; 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, V. 255.

[50] Sibley, V. 178, under Peleg Wiswall.

A different type of emissary is represented by Newman and Dummer. They were retained to look after the interests of their colonies year in and year out, and, unlike their Harvard colleagues, were not sent to England as agents but became such after they had taken up residence abroad. Both may be said to have become Englishmen, for both prospered in England apart from their colonial connections and neither ever returned to the new world; yet they had been born colonists and remained loyal and serviceable to New England, both in and out of their agencies. It is significant that Dummer's bookplate bears the inscription, "Anglus-Americanus."

Newman was a graduate in 1687. After serving as college librarian and venturing into commerce in Newfoundland, he went to England. Here we find him in 1707 exerting himself in behalf of his alma mater, and two years later he was made the college's official agent abroad. In the meantime he fell under the influence of Thomas Bray, the Anglican Commissary of Maryland, with whose religious and philanthropic enterprises he became closely associated. He conformed to the Church of England, and in 1708 was appointed secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, a post which he occupied until his death thirty-five years later. In 1709 he became agent for New Hampshire, serving intermittently in this capacity until 1720 and regularly thereafter for seventeen years. He had a considerable acquaintance among members of the Royal Society, of which his New England friends took advantage in their endeavors to get communications before that body. At his death his estate was reputedly worth £20,000.[51]

Dummer, on graduating in 1699, went to Leyden and Utrecht for further study. At Leyden he received a Ph.D., the first ever granted to a Harvard man. Nevertheless, he failed to secure either a pulpit or a berth at Harvard upon his return to New England; his preaching, according to Charles Chauncy, "did not make any impression—it was without fault and without effect."[52] Thereafter his course took a more worldly turn. In 1708 he forsook the Bay and went to England. Though he had an offer to minister to the English church at Amsterdam, he devoted himself to politics. He became a henchman of Lord Bolingbroke, and it is said that

[51] *D.A.B.*; Alfred Claghorn Potter and Charles Knowles Bolton, "The Librarians of Harvard College, 1667–1877," *Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions*, Justin Winsor, Editor, IV (Cambridge, 1897), no. 52; W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: the History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698–1898* (London, 1898), 229 ff.

[52] Hermann F. Clarke and Henry W. Foote, *Jeremiah Dummer, Colonial Craftsman and Merchant, 1645–1718* (Boston, 1935), 48; cf. *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, VIII. 213.

he would have been rewarded with a "place of honor and profit" had not Anne's sudden death overturned the apple-cart. But still he prospered; he became warier in politics, applied himself to trade, and developed into a prominent London attorney. Whatever Puritan scruples and inhibitions Dummer may have had seem to have been considerably relaxed by his association with Bolingbroke and his life in London. He became a skeptic in religion, a courtier, and a gentleman of fashion, of whom it could be believed, though it may not have been true, that he kept a bevy of female companions at his country residence at Plaistow.[53]

Though Dummer drew away from the standards and restrictions of Massachusetts, he was nevertheless recognized as a man of parts by the colonists he had left. He had not been in England long when the doughty Samuel Sewall suggested that he might be of use to the colony's agent, Sir William Ashurst. By 1710 Ashurst was ready to relinquish the agency, which he had held for over twenty years, and recommended Dummer as his successor. Though Governor Dudley favored Newman for the post, he was prevailed upon to sign Dummer's commission.[54] For fifteen years he served Massachusetts, and from 1712 to 1730 he also acted as agent for Connecticut. He was one of the ablest of the colonial agents and, until handicapped by ill health in the twenties, was very zealous in the performance of his duties. Indeed, Dummer's forceful defence of colonial interests on one occasion so angered the Board of Trade that it refused for a time to receive him. He held the chartered rights of the colonies in high esteem. In 1713 he warned the colonists of "a design to obtain a new modelling the plantations, and make alterations in their civil government," and Rhode Island, as well as Massachusetts and Connecticut, sent him funds to be used in opposing the project. His *Defence of the New England Charters*, written at this time though not published until 1721, became the accepted apology of the advocates of colonial self-government. A series of documents elucidating the political, economic, and strategic gains to be secured from the reduction of Canada were presented by him or through him to the British authorities; and in 1710 he sought, without success, the judge advocacy and secretaryship of the projected Canadian expedition. When this campaign misfired Dummer wrote *A Letter to a Noble Lord concerning the Late Expedition to Canada*, defending the colonies against charges of non-coöperation.

Both Newman and Dummer deserve to be remembered for their serv-

[53] See 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 305*n*.

[54] See Hutchinson, II. 139–140; Everett Kimball, *The Public Career of Joseph Dudley* (London, 1911), 192*n*.

ices to colonial education. As Harvard's first agent in England since the forties, Newman helped her obtain the Hopkins legacy, sent her gifts of books, and kept a wary eye out for private libraries about to come on the market.[55] In Dummer Yale acquired her first notable benefactor. In 1714 he sent to Connecticut over seven hundred volumes, "about 120 of which were at his own Cost and Charge; and the rest by his Procurement from sundry principal Gentlemen in England."[56] Among the one hundred and eighty persons from whom this Harvard graduate begged books for the new college were Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Richard Steele, Edmund Halley, Bishop Kennet, Sir Edmund Andros, Isaac Watts, and Elihu Yale himself. Through this and subsequent donations, for which Dummer was responsible, Yale's library was better stocked in contemporary literature than that of her older rival. Dummer's acquaintance "with men of Learning and Estates" was, as he assured Rector Pierson, "very general," and the array of those who brought the agent books to be shipped to Saybrook lends credence to the lines in his obituary which assert that "his Company was eagerly sought after by all Lovers of good Sense and Humanity." His activities in behalf of the Connecticut institution were naturally regarded with misgivings by the denizens of Cambridge, particularly after he tried to divert the beneficence of Harvard's great contemporary patron, Thomas Hollis. In this his efforts were fruitless, but he had already introduced the Saybrook school to the Maecenas whose name it would adopt. As early as 1711, before he was Connecticut's agent, Dummer had sounded out Elihu Yale. Twenty-nine of the volumes sent over in 1714 had come from the nabob of Queen Square; greater gifts were to follow, until Yale's death in 1721 forced Dummer to seek another benefactor.

Among the Harvard-bred agents who prospered abroad Joseph Dudley is worthy of special attention. No Harvardian of the period, save Sir George Downing, was more successful as a place-hunter. A graduate in 1665, Dudley first went abroad to preserve the Massachusetts charter. In this he failed; but by ingratiating himself with the court he laid the groundwork for his appointment as Governor of the Dominion of New England, which he obtained in 1685. The following year he was supplanted by Sir Edmund Andros, but was placed at the head of his council. With the col-

[55] 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 118.

[56] Anne Stokely Pratt, "The Books Sent from England by Jeremiah Dummer to Yale College," *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh* (New Haven, 1938), 7. This essay gives a detailed account of Dummer's generosity to Yale; see also Louise May Bryant and Mary Patterson, "The List of Books Sent by Jeremiah Dummer," also in the *Papers*, 423 ff.

lapse of the Andros regime in 1689 Dudley was shipped off to England, charged with the commission of over a hundred illegal acts. These charges were presently dismissed, and Dudley set about courting, with letters, visits, presents, and possibly bribes, influential colonial administrators like William Blathwayt. Again his efforts were successful, and he returned to America as chief of the Council of New York. But he could be content with nothing less than high office in New England, and in 1693 he went for the third time to London. For nearly a decade he remained abroad. He renewed old alliances and made new ones; he conformed to the Established Church and joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Upon the death of Governor Phipps, whose arrest Dudley had procured, he felt confident that he would be the successor; but though he had the support of such men as Blathwayt, Lord Cutts, the Earl of Portland, and the Duke of Leeds, the prize was given to the Earl of Bellomont. Though he longed to return to New England, where his wife remained, he could not go back a beaten man; pride and ambition kept him in England. There he supported himself as Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Wight, serving the martial Lord Cutts as both an official lieutenant and private factotum.[57] In connection with his office and through Cutts' influence he secured a colonelcy, became Mayor of Newport, and sat in Parliament for Newtown. On political questions he consistently supported the court party, and his knowledge and experience, in colonial matters, were respected by those in power. As the years passed he more and more took on the manners of an English gentleman, and sought recognition as such. John Chamberlayne, gentleman-in-waiting to Prince George, appears to have acted in London as his social sponsor, and he sought admission to the Royal Society.[58] In 1702 his patient fence-mending brought results. Through Cutts he had the ear of the Duke of Marlborough; the Bishop of St. Asaph believed that he would champion the church and its missions; Blathwayt could be counted on; the resident colonists in London, the dissenting clergy, and the English colonial traders all joined in backing him. Dudley became Governor of Massachusetts.

Dudley's ability to land on his feet was equalled only by that of George Downing. A graduate in 1642, he was restless and dissatisfied in New England and in 1645 betook himself to England. There he succeeded in serving Cromwell and Charles II with equal success. The only Harvard

[57] See 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, II. 173 ff.; for a detailed account of Dudley, see Kimball.

[58] See Rae Blanchard, *The Correspondence of Richard Steele* (London, 1941), 9*n*, and, for Dudley's connection with Steele, 89*n*.

graduate to participate in the Civil Wars, he began as an army chaplain and rose to be scoutmaster-general. After the reduction of Scotland he aided Cromwell in its administration. Under the Protectorate he thrived, serving twice in Parliament and filling diplomatic posts abroad. His political perception was keen and his principles were flexible. He was associated with the movement for offering the crown to Oliver; but in 1660, while British resident at The Hague, he grasped the opportunity to make his peace with Charles, disowning his hitherto profitable alliance with the Roundheads and blaming it on his New England background. Thereafter he identified himself with the new regime, and even procured the arrest of Colonel Okey, in whose regiment he had begun his English career, for which Pepys called him a "perfidious rogue" and "ungrateful villain."[59] He continued to sit in Parliament, and was described as "the housebell to call the courtiers to vote."[60] He is said to have received at least £80,000 by the King's favor; and he gained lucrative offices in connection with the treasury and the customs. In 1660 he was knighted and three years later was made a baronet. To this day his name is commemorated in the noted London street.

One other Harvard alumnus found a place at the court of Charles II. This was John Crowne, the college's first playwright. Shropshire-born, he came to New England by way of Nova Scotia, where his father had a grant of land. He entered Harvard in 1657, but, according to Dennis, "the Vivacity of his Genius made him soon grow impatient of that sullen and gloomy Education, and soon oblig'd him to get loose from it and seek his Fortune in England."[61] This he did in 1660. Shortly thereafter his father lost his Nova Scotian lands, and by his own confession it was this misfortune which made him "run into that Madness call'd Poetry" and resort to "that Bedlam call'd a Stage." Writing with a careful eye on the box office, he was chiefly successful in turning out comedies. The mercurial Rochester for a time took him under his wing; by his masque *Calisto*, he gained the favor of Charles II, and this was further assured by *The*

[59] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Henry B. Wheatley, Editor (New York: Random House, n.d.), I. 385, 387. For a full account of Downing see John Beresford, *The Godfather of Downing Street: Sir George Downing, 1623–1684* (London, 1925); and see also *D.N.B.*

[60] Andrew Marvell, *A Seasonable Argument to Persuade All the Grand Juries of England to Petition for a New Parliament* (1677), 14.

[61] John Dennis, *Original Letters, Familiar, Moral, and Critical* (London, 1721), I. 49. On Crowne's career see also Arthur Franklin White's *John Crowne, His Life and Dramatic Works* (Cleveland, 1922) and his "John Crowne and America," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXV. 447 ff.; *D.A.B.*; *D.N.B.*

Country Wit and *City Politiques*, a jibe at the Whigs. Crowne never ceased to regret his lost patrimony, "which, tho' it lay in the deserts of America would have enabled me . . . to have liv'd at my ease in these beautiful parts o' the world."[62] But he was unable to regain it, or to secure compensating property elsewhere. Late in Charles' reign the King promised him an office in return for one more comedy. The result was *Sir Courtly Nice*, a piece which held the boards for over a century. Even so, Crowne did not gain the security he sought, for Charles died while the play was in rehearsal, and there was no hope of patronage from King James. Thereafter Crowne's star declined, though he drew funds from Mary and from Anne, and in 1701 a satirist could quip in *The Town display'd in a Letter* that

> C----n, with a feeble pace and hoary hairs,
> Has just outliv'd his wit by twenty years.

Nonetheless, the "deserts of America" held no attraction for him; and though his Harvard studies are revealed by his familiarity with such writers as Suetonius and Josephus, his numerous works contain no recollections of his New England youth. Indeed, his Toryism and Anglicanism may have been a reaction to that phase of his life.

Late in the Stuart era, and particularly after 1700, we encounter in England young Harvard visitors seeking the pleasure and knowledge that foreign travel can provide, and perhaps looking over the field for opportunities. The adventures of John Barnard and Benjamin Colman have been preserved in some detail for us.[63] Colman went to England in 1695, to "make improvement by what he could see and learn there," while Barnard took advantage of an invitation to voyage to Barbados and London as a ship-chaplain in 1709. Both secured a wide acquaintance with the dissenting clergy and, as we have seen, preached in various places; and they travelled extensively, seeing the sights and visiting relatives. Barnard appears to have presented a far from clerical appearance. He adorned himself with a long wig and a sword, and tells us that he was "taken for a small courtier, and treated as such by many country squires and knights"; while on another occasion he was mistaken for a lawyer. Both stayed with Sir Henry Ashurst at his country seat near Oxford, and John Caswell, the Oxford astronomer, conducted Barnard and some other Americans around the colleges, and took them out to Woodstock to see Blenheim

[62] James Maidment and W. H. Logan, *The Dramatic Works of John Crowne* (Edinburgh, 1873–1874), IV. 349.

[63] See Barnard's autobiography, 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, V. 197 ff., and Turell. Samuel Sewall also gives an interesting account of his stay in England in his diary, 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, V. 246 ff.

Palace, then under construction. Barnard made a point of becoming acquainted with the Anglican clergy wherever he went, but found them generally "very empty." He learned that Burton produced the best ale in England, and obtained recipes for burnt claret and for curing bacon. Unwilling to conform to the Established Church, he declined an invitation to go to Ireland as chaplain to the Viceroy. He also excused himself from a junket on the royal yacht, then about to carry Marlborough and other noblemen to Holland, though he was invited by her skipper. Business offers were tendered him by West Indian merchants, but he declined them, and in 1710 he was back in New England again. Colman, too, associated with persons of some prominence; and there was no better vantage point than Bath to observe the world of fashion. Both men became acquainted with the poetess, Elizabeth Singer—the "lovely Philomela"—and it is said that Colman might have married her had he been willing to remain in England. Several other graduates undoubtedly had interesting sojourns overseas. Thomas Brattle (1676) returned from England to Boston in 1689, having "very much improved himself in his Studies by his travels abroad." Thomas Prince took advantage of the burning of his ship, before the homeward voyage, to stay on in England for seven years, preaching and travelling and ferreting out "a great variety of books and pamphlets . . . wrote in ancient times," unquestionably absorbing and useful to the future author of the *Annals*.[64] In the travels of Jonathan Belcher we are reminded of the grand tours of the European aristocracy. His father was a rich Boston merchant who, after Jonathan had secured his second degree in 1702, sent him abroad for the edifying experiences of travel. He visited various German principalities, including Hanover, where, he says, "I was Entertain'd by the Princess Sophia . . . as If she had been my mother." He also visited Holland and "made a progress through the kingdom of Great Britain" five hundred miles in length; but nowhere, he tells us, did he find a place which he preferred to New England. While in England he secured a family pedigree and became a Mason, the first New Englander, it is said, to join this fraternity.[65] Another traveller was Walter Price (1695). Sewall reports that he consorted with the London circles in which Colman moved, and he appears to have visited Spain.[66]

[64] Thomas Prince, *A Chronological History of New England in the Form of Annals*, in Edward Arber, *An English Garner: Ingatherings from Our History and Literature* (Westminster, 1895–1896), II. 297.

[65] Our *Publications*, XX. 97; 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. xvi, 176.

[66] *Id.*, II. 82.

It is worthy of note that, both among those who remained behind and those who crossed the sea, there was a feeling that those nurtured by New England were not without obligations to her. "Dear brother," wrote John Higginson to the absent Nathaniel, "you had your education here, and you do owe some service to your country. Come, and pay it."[67] When John Davie was about to take ship to England and his new baronetcy, Sewall asked Samuel Shepherd to "wish him and his lady joy of it, and pray that they may improve it for their own good, and for the good of New England, as opportunity may offer."[68] Davie was not indifferent to the needs of the colonists, and Yale's library was enriched by nearly two hundred volumes through his generosity.[69] Nor was he the only Harvardian who, though permanently settled abroad, still felt sufficient affection and loyalty to colony and alma mater to be of service. John Collins retained a keen interest in his college, of which he was a trustee. He helped to secure for it the Gale library and promoted Leonard Hoar as President Chauncy's successor; he, in turn, was Increase Mather's choice for President in 1681. Massachusetts showed her appreciation of his efforts in her behalf, during years when she possessed no regular London agent, by a grant of five hundred acres.[70] The Anglican Gershom Rawlins swelled the volumes which Dummer sent to Saybrook.[71] Even Downing, so mistrusted by New Englanders, was not unmindful of Harvard's needs.[72] Though Higginson could not be induced to return, he was not oblivious to the interests of his American friends and relatives; in 1706 he attempted to remove Governor Dudley from office, and he proposed to set his nephew up in business abroad.[73] It was Nathaniel Mather of Dublin who provided for New England the only outside help which she received during King Philip's War—a shipload of provisions collected in Ireland. Of those who merely visited the old country, the colonists could doubtless count on the services of many, in one way or another. Though Sewall was not an official agent, his trip to England in 1688 was motivated in part by a desire to aid Mather and his associates in their efforts to restore the charter. John Barnard took it upon himself to recommend Dummer for the Massachusetts

[67] 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 210.

[68] 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 348.

[69] Thomas Goddard Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620–1730* (New Haven, 1920), 184; Pratt, 13.

[70] *H. C. in 17 C.*, 290, 391–392, 394, 440.

[71] Bryant and Patterson, 441–443.

[72] *H. C. in 17 C.*, 378, 652.

[73] 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 216.

agency,[74] and Dudley Woodbridge, a graduate in 1696 who became a Barbados judge, supported Dummer's demands that New England ships be protected against the Spanish. Many other errands and favors must have eluded the record.

There can be no doubt that the comings and goings of men who were educated and frequently of some prominence served to instruct both motherland and province in the ways of the other. Dudley, even when not serving as an agent, was often interrogated on colonial matters by the English authorities,[75] and Captain Willard's knowledge of North America was respected by the Board of Trade. Anthony Wood, though chronically allergic to Puritans, formed a good opinion of Increase Mather; while Mather, on being asked how he liked Archbishop Tillotson, replied that had England "always had such ArchBishops New England had never been."[76] From men like John Barnard and Thomas Prince Englishmen must have learned something of colonial mores. That some were ludicrously misinformed about their colonial cousins, at least at the turn of the century, is evident. "What strangers were even the city of London to New England, excepting a few merchants who traded with us!" exclaims Barnard in his autobiography;[77] from him and Prince they learned, at least, that colonists might attain "Fairness & accuracy" in the use of English and commonly possessed white skins. From others the English might gain an impression of the confidence and independence of the Americans: from Prince, for example, who told his hosts that "in about an hundred years the New England people would be powerful enough to withdraw from the realm of Old England, and advance to the dignity of a free and independent nation," and who so stimulated his audience that thirty of them are said to have determined to make the westward voyage with him.[78]

On the other hand, the return of colonists who had lived abroad tended to make New England—or at least Boston, to which most of our alumni gravitated—less provincial. Their accounts of English life and thought must have found ready listeners; and in some cases their sojourn abroad gave them a new prestige. Barnard observed that his preaching was more

[74] *Id.*, v. 208.

[75] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1693–96*, 224, 261.

[76] Murdock, 279; *D.N.B.*; Allen and McClure, 257.

[77] 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, v. 200.

[78] *Congregational Quarterly*, I. 10; Joseph Sewall, *The Duty, Character, and Reward* (Boston, 1758), 14.

highly regarded after he returned from England, even though he was using his old sermons. Samuel Sewall in 1712 confided to his diary the hope that in Benjamin Lynde "we shall have an Instance of the Advantage of an Inns of Court education superadded to that of Harvard College."[79] Friendships made in England were commonly kept alive by pen and ink. Colman, back in Boston as pastor of the Brattle Street Church, corresponded with Thomas Hollis, Isaac Watts, Edmund Calamy, Bishop Kennet, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Daniel Neal, to whose *History of New England* he contributed.[80] Paul Dudley carried on a scientific correspondence with John Chamberlayne, and for over twenty years prepared treatises for the Royal Society, which made him a fellow in 1721.[81] Thomas Brattle furnished the Society with astronomical data based on his observations in Massachusetts.[82] Leonard Hoar, while in England, had cultivated the friendship of such men as Robert Boyle and Dr. Morison, the royal physician. On returning to the Bay colony he did not leave his scientific interests behind; on the contrary, he nourished the hope that he might provide Harvard, whose President he became, with a botanical garden and chemical laboratory.[83] It is quite apparent that New England, though deprived of some promising men reared in her traditions, yet regained others whose minds were broadened and stimulated by experiences unattainable to those who chose to stay at home.

[79] 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 358.

[80] Wright, 197; Turell, 149–150.

[81] Raymond Phineas Stearns, "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London, 1661–1788," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, III. 231–232.

[82] *Id.*, 229; Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Harvard School of Astronomy in the Seventeenth Century," *New England Quarterly*, VII. 23.

[83] *H. C. in 17 C.*, 394–395, 644–646.

April Meeting, 1944

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, April 27, 1944, at a quarter before nine o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The minutes of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH, of New York City, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON and ELLIOTT PERKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. ALLSTON BURR and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON and ALLYN BAILEY FORBES.

The President reported on the condition of the Increase Mather tomb in the Copps Hill Burying Ground, which was in a very bad state of repair. As one of the historical monuments of Boston it seemed appropriate that it should be restored, and the Council had voted to put the matter in charge of Mr. ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS. Mr. BELLOWS then reported that he had found the tomb, which is of the table type, in very bad condition. He proposed that a new top be placed on the tomb, in which the original inscription should be set.

Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE read a paper entitled:

A Scottish Classicist in Colonial America

JOHN Witherspoon, one of the outstanding Scottish-born settlers who should be numbered among the Founding Fathers, cannot be described as a statesman of the first rank. He was not a great constitutional interpreter like Madison or his own countryman, James Wilson.[1] He was not supreme in diplomacy, finance, or political philosophy, as were Franklin, Hamilton, and Jefferson respectively. The "Roman Senator" traits of Adams were not reflected in his personality. Nor did he exchange the gown for the uniform, as General Mühlenberg did in such dramatic fashion. But he deserves to be included in any group of colonial leaders as an all-round exponent of the three main ideas which reached their climax in 1776. He tempered a sincere religious creed with the current Common-Sense philosophy; he stood out solidly for the Anglo-Saxon tradition of freedom; and he utilized in the most distinctive way the cultural and educational background of Greece and Rome. For an earlier parallel the student of American history turns to Increase Mather, a college president who was equally at home in the pulpit and in the statehouse. His is an impressive record—a half-century in the ministry, twenty-six years as a college president and trainer of statesmen, and twelve years as an active member of Congress and of the Provincial legislature of New Jersey. He is the only clergyman whose name appears on the Declaration of Independence.

Funeral orations, except for those spoken by a Pericles or a Bossuet, are apt to grow dull with the passage of time. Perhaps that of the Reverend John Rodgers of New York is no exception; but in his memorial sermon on Witherspoon, "delivered at Princeton before the Board of Trustees of the College of New Jersey, May 6, 1795," the good Doctor did history a service by pointing out the late President's political distinction, besides "his literature, his superintendency, his example as a happy model of good writing, and the tone and taste which he gave to the literary pursuits of the College."[2] It is therefore of some interest to examine the record of a spiritual leader, an educator deeply enthusiastic about *belles-lettres*, and a man who practised his political theories instead of allowing them to evaporate in the classroom.

Perhaps a collateral but not a direct descendant of John Knox, Wither-

[1] R. M. Gummere, "Classical Precedents in the Writings of James Wilson," our *Publications*, XXXII. 525–538. Also "John Adams Togatus," *Philological Quarterly*, XIII. 203–210.

[2] *The Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon*, D.D., LL.D. (2d ed., Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1802), I. 30.

spoon was born February 5, 1723, at Yester, near Edinburgh. Schooled at Haddington, he entered Edinburgh University with the customary classical equipment at the age of fourteen. Here, with his friend Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inverness,[3] he followed the usual program of Humanities. Latin, Greek, and Euclid occupied the first year; logic and rhetoric were added in the second year, especially the *Poetics* of Aristotle and Longinus's *On The Sublime* (two books which are frequently reflected in his later writings). Classics and mathematics, with natural and moral philosophy, made up the rest of his degree requirement. Carlyle speaks of Witherspoon as a good scholar, shrewd, but with "a flat voice and an awkward manner." He overcame this handicap later, as did Cotton Mather, following the advice to practice slow speaking and use a "dilated vocabulary." The testimony of his contemporaries indicates that this difficulty stemmed from an irascible and dominating father.[4] In later life, replying to a visitor who remarked of his estate in Princeton: "You have an excellent garden but no flowers," Witherspoon replied: "No, madam, neither in my garden nor in my discourse!"[5]

In 1739 Witherspoon took his degree at Edinburgh, with a Latin thesis, *De Mentis Immortalitate*, dedicated to the Marquis of Tweeddale. Licensed to preach at the age of twenty-one, and declining a position as assistant to his father, he occupied successively the parishes of Beith and Paisley. He refused calls to Dublin, Dundee, and Rotterdam. But when Benjamin Rush pressed him to accept the presidency of Nassau Hall, he finally capitulated despite an offer from a rich bachelor relative to become his heir and remain in Scotland. Rush, writing home to Philadelphia and describing his efforts on behalf of the Princeton trustees to secure his prize, called him *homo factus ad unguem;* when the Scotsman accepted, Rush hailed the occasion with the words *redeunt Saturnia regna.*[6] Thus with a Horatian and a Vergilian invocation, the Scotch preacher began in 1768 a career which lasted until blindness and old age ended his presidency in 1794.

That the eighteenth century, especially in its third quarter, represented the climax of Greek and Roman influence is a truism beyond question. Witherspoon was no exception. His country place was named "'Tusculum"; over the front entrance of Nassau Hall was a bust of Homer, the

[3] V. L. Collins, *President Witherspoon, a Biography* (Princeton, 1925), I. 16.

[4] W. T. Read, *Life of George Read* (Philadelphia, 1870), 433. George Read was a "co-signer" of the Declaration of Independence.

[5] *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, John Sanderson, Editor, V (Philadelphia, 1824), 178–179.

[6] April 30, 1767. Collins, *op. cit.*, I. 84, 89.

only external ornament. His first Commencement address indicated his platform and policy: "The remains of the ancients are still the standard of taste." "Though a schoolmaster can scarcely speak without citing Vergil or Horace, he is to be indulged." Witherspoon kept up a correspondence with his son David in Latin and French, reminding him in one of the letters that when he could read Horace and Vergil comfortably at sight, he would derive no less pleasure than from an English poem. He contributed to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* under the pseudonym of Epaminondas and tried editing a short-lived *Spectator*-like periodical of his own, *The Druid*. In the fifth number of this publication, discussing vulgarisms and errors in English speech, the editor opens with the statement that "A man is not, even at this time, called or considered as a scholar, unless he is acquainted in some degree with the ancient languages, particularly the Greek and Latin."[7]

Of the three main phases in Witherspoon's career—Biblical, political, classical—he felt strongly, as did Cotton Mather, that the common law and the writings of the ancients should both be subordinated to the scriptural message. Unlike Dell, Webster, and other anti-education writers of the seventeenth century, he admitted that the Christian is all the better fortified by classical precedents in presenting the Word as the primary instrument of virtue. Mather, however, admitted more of a partnership: he followed St. Augustine in claiming the Greeks and Romans as Christian property. The *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the ecclesiastical scheme went hand in hand with a college education in the colonies; and Mather welcomed science into a higher category than did Witherspoon.[8]

The Princeton president, in his clerical capacity, drew a sharper line of demarcation. In a sermon[9] which reminds us of one of Seneca's earliest essays, he declares it to be shameful that the Church Fathers and good Christians should be attacked and defamed by infidels while "the wise men of the heathen nations are suffered to possess, without contradiction, all the reputation which their countrymen in after-ages have thought fit to bestow upon them."[10] He is pursuing the same thought when he declares

[7] Witherspoon, *Works*, IV. 458.

[8] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), especially 85–95. K. B. Murdock, *Selections from Cotton Mather* (New York, 1926), xlix.

[9] *The Charge of Sedition and Faction against good Men, especially faithful Ministers, considered and accounted for*, preached in the Abbey Church of Paisley on September 7, 1758, reprinted in Witherspoon, *Works*, II. 415–440.

[10] *Works*, II. 426–427. See Seneca, *Quare aliqua incommoda bonis viris accidant.*

that the verse "Let your light so shine before men" was addressed to all good Christians rather than to the twelve apostles alone, so that they might refute "the Heathen philosophers and the Jewish teachers." Again, "What an inconsistency, for a Christian minister to speak of the Lord Redeemer in such a style as naturally leads the hearers to put Him upon a level with Socrates or Plato or other uninspired teachers, who never pretended to be saviors!"[11]

A modern pagan is naturally abhorrent to Witherspoon. "A mechanic or peasant, instructed in the oracles of truth, has now more just and consistent notions of God, his perfections, his laws, his Providence, than the most renowned philosophers of ancient times." It is a weakness to rely upon mere human nature, even when a heathen does so; but these pagans themselves acknowledged some higher power as approving their expeditions and undertakings—for example, the *deus ex machina*, the protecting Genius, amulets, and mystical incantations.[12] This testifies all the more to the value of a Christian faith in God. It is not astonishing that Minos and Numa should pretend to the privilege of divine communication; but it is conclusive proof of the power of the Word, that it is found in Matthew the Publican and his associates.[13] He defines the Stoic theory as an *ignava ratio* when contrasted with belief "in both the certainty of God's purpose and the free agency of the creature." Unlike Mather, he gives no credit to the early philosophers: "Natural knowledge was increased by religious light . . . all the theories of the ancients as to the formation and preservation of the earth and heaven, were childish and trifling . . . the latest discoveries in philosophy, including physics, have never shewn us anything but what is perfectly consistent with the Scripture doctrine and history." Witherspoon admits, however, that all human science, in natural history, astronomy, and chronology, is not necessarily to be found in the Bible.[14]

There is no word in Greek or Latin, he declares, equivalent to the Christian *humility: humilitas, mansuetudo,* πραότης will not reproduce the English word. *Heroism* and *magnanimity* occur frequently in pagan literature, but never *humility*.[15] Speaking clerically, he roundly denounces the younger Pliny for his report to Trajan concerning the Christians in Bithynia, forgetting the persecutions and cruelties in the church records of six-

[11] *Works*, I. 530–531; II. 516.

[12] *Works*, I. 80.

[13] Witherspoon, *Miscellaneous Works* (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1803), 50, 91.

[14] *Works*, IV. 53.

[15] *Miscellaneous Works*, 31.

teenth-century Scotland.[16] Some of them matched the gallery of wrongs available to the good Doctor in his reading of the ancients and in the pages of the historians Rollin and Goguet. At any rate, the ancients must be put in their proper place: Blackwell's *Sacred Classics* proves that "there is no beauty in the classic authors in which they are not outdone by the sacred penman." However, one understands this failing, due to polytheism and lack of revelation. The modern religious leaders should exercise the equivalent of the Roman censor's function.[17]

Outside the church, however, Witherspoon welcomes the Greek and Roman writers. His really serious attacks are reserved for the Immaterialists, the current Moderates (as the Scotch called one of their groups), the modern sceptics. Hume, Voltaire, Herbert of Cherbury, Helvetius are the real infidels. While the Abbé Banier meant well, he was wrong when he tried to prove that Thales, Pythagoras, and heathen mythology "have a partial view of the Scripture history."[18] In this respect Witherspoon differs somewhat from Cotton Mather, and radically from William Penn, who ransacked ancient philosophy from Thales to Plotinus in order to prove the presence in every human being of the Indwelling Spirit.[19] "I have," declares the Scots preacher, "a much more lively idea of Jupiter and Juno, and many of their actions, from Homer and Vergil, though I do not believe that any of them ever existed, than I have of many things that I know happened within these few months."[20]

The Moderates in the Scotch Kirk had always been the objects of Witherspoon's scorn: he had denounced them in his *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*.[21] They did not follow the Confession of Faith; they included in one benevolent embrace "the admirable heathens, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Antoninus, &c."[22] It is not true religion to "reckon Socrates and Plato to have been much greater men than any of the apostles."[23] The Moderates are like the eccentric artists in Horace's opening lines of the *Ars Poetica:*

[16] *Works*, II. 428.

[17] *Works*, IV. 55. *Miscellaneous Works*, 40–42, 29. See W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe.*

[18] *Miscellaneous Works*, 24–25.

[19] R. M. Gummere, "Apollo on Locust Street," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LVI. 68–92.

[20] *Works*, III. 377.

[21] *Ecclesiastical Characteristics: or, The Arcana of Church Policy*, reprinted in *Works*, III. 199–261.

[22] *Works*, III. 217.

[23] *Works*, III. 223.

humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere;

although they themselves regard such a monstrosity as a harmonious creation.[24]

These enemies of religion are like Julian the Apostate, whose method of suppressing the new creed was to encourage the philosophers and urge the pagan priests to steal a march on Christianity by a "mortified carriage."[25] Church Fathers should not be attacked by infidels while "the wise men of the heathen nations are suffered to possess, without contradiction, all the reputation which their countrymen in after ages have thought fit to bestow upon them." Such modern infidels err "in following Nature,—the all-comprehensive rule of the ancients." In satirizing these Moderates Witherspoon comes very near blasphemy: "I believe in the divinity of L. S - - -,[26] the saintship of Marcus Antoninus, the perspicuity and sublimity of A - - - - - e,[27] and the perpetual duration of Mr. H - - - - - - n's[28] works, notwithstanding their present tendency to oblivion."[29] Marcus Aurelius, he declares, and "Markii Medulla Theologiae" are two different matters.[30] The ancients can be pardoned because they lived in darkness without revelation; but the Shaftesbury-Voltaire type of writer, appealing to Nature and relying on reason alone, is dangerous.

The fortress of Christianity is, therefore, in the eyes of Witherspoon, a home of revelation and inspiration. But for purposes of its defense one may call upon outside assistance: "The gospel has never been without enemies from without and within; and as it is usually by means of human learning that they make the attack, it is necessary that some should be ready to meet them and unravel the subtilty with which they lie in wait."[31] A classical parable illustrates this point of view: "An ancient artist, who, being employed to build a magnificent and elegant temple, had the ingenuity to inscribe upon it his own name, and so to incorporate it both with the ornaments and body of the structure, that it was impossible afterwards to efface the name, without at the same time destroying the fabrick. In the same manner, Christ dying for sin is engraven in such characters through the

[24] *Works*, III. 224.
[25] *Works*, III. 29.
[26] Lord Shaftesbury or Lucius Seneca?
[27] Aristotle.
[28] Francis Hutcheson.
[29] *Works*, III. 229, 234, and *Miscellaneous Works*, 27.
[30] *Works*, III. 260.
[31] *Works*, IV. 16.

whole revealed will of God, that it is impossible to take it away without overturning the whole system."[32]

In Witherspoon's second phase, the "superintendency," as Doctor Rodgers defined his presidency of the College of New Jersey, the Scottish-born leader applied all three of the fundamental elements to which reference has been made. When religion is the criterion, a clear distinction is set up for the students between "a knowledge of God natural in and by his works" (a process in which classical learning is essential) and "a knowledge supernatural out of the Word." "Piety without literature is but little profitable, and learning without piety is pernicious to others and ruinous to the possessor." The studies which, in his opinion, contribute most to theology are "Languages, Moral Philosophy, History sacred and profane, and Eloquence, including *belles-lettres* in general." Cicero's *Archias* is a model; for cultural pleasure is highly desirable.[33] Greek and Latin should be read "both with pleasure and profit." "So certain a truth is this, that one of the ancient authors[34] gives it as a rule for moral conduct that men should always imagine themselves in the presence of such a man as Cato, renowned for gravity and virtue." If a mortal can furnish such an example, how much more can God in His holiness accomplish!

For purposes of Moral Philosophy, the classics are regarded as essential. In the lecturer's estimation, Cicero and Plato rank high, the latter frequently conveyed through the medium of Cudworth. While the Socratic "know thyself" is often mentioned, one is surprised that there is no reference to the *Politicus*,[35] where Plato describes the cycles through which man has passed in this order: 1. a state of innocence and prosperity under divine direction; 2. the Fall; 3. still deeper decline into barbarism; 4. restoration of man by partial interference of God and the natural growth of arts and civilization. For in this passage Plato is a true Calvinist. Solomon's prayer for an "understanding heart" is compared to that which Socrates taught Alcibiades, beseeching "the Supreme God to give him what was good for him, though he should not ask it, and to withhold from him whatever would be hurtful, though he should be so foolish as to pray for it."[36] Nor need one think too closely about any comparison with the

[32] *Works*, I. 336. The story, which is quoted in *Christ's Death a Proper Atonement for Sin* [reprinted in *Works*, I. 331–348], refers to Phidias and the shield of Athena Parthenos.

[33] *Works*, IV. 16–20.

[34] Seneca, *Epistles*, xi. 10 and xxv. 6. *Works*, II. 140.

[35] 271–274.

[36] *Works*, II. 226. Plato, *Alcibiades*, ii. 142–143.

Symposium, when, in a sermon on "A View of the Glory of God humbling to the Soul," the preacher uses such a sentence as: "Any piece of deformity appears more hideous and shocking when compared with perfect beauty."[37] Cicero is approved on the lower level as a person of dignity and high standards: if only the *De Natura Deorum* were possessed of revelation, it would rank with any piece of literature extant.

In the second class come Xenophon, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Seneca, who "contain many moral sentiments but little or nothing of the principles of morals." Most highly praised is the Tablet of Cebes, the dialogue which sets moral worth above erudition as an element of education. These ancients, however, are all aids and an effective background for the church as well as for the study. They furnish models of conduct: "It is a well-known saying of a heathen philosopher, that a great man, suffering with invincible patience under a weight of misfortunes, is a sight, which even the gods must behold with admiration."[38]

This classical atmosphere follows Witherspoon in all his academic relations. When Hugh Henry Brackenridge on entering Princeton complained to his President that he had had a hard and poverty-dominated youth, quoting Juvenal:

> *Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat*
> *Res angusta domi;*

Witherspoon retorted: "There you are wrong, young man! It is only your *res angusta domi* men that *do* emerge."[39] In his *Seasonable Advice to Young Persons*[40] he declares it easier to ridicule and expose folly than to "reason with justice and propriety." Even Socrates, "the wisest and best man of all the heathens . . . [was] successfully turned into ridicule by a person [presumably Aristophanes] whose writings . . . are to the last degree mean and contemptible."[41] Addressing the senior class on Sunday, September 23, 1775, he warns them[42] of the close relationship between covetousness and profusion, quoting Sallust's description of Catiline: *alieni appetens, sui profusus*. But he defends all those who feel a consciousness of rectitude in the face of attacks by the words *magna est veritas et praevalebit*. In a sermon preached in New York in May, 1789, *On the Religious Education of Chil-*

[37] *Works*, II. 140.

[38] *Works*, III. 92. See Seneca, *Espistulae morales*, lxvi. 50–51.

[39] Collins, *op. cit.*, I. 141. Juvenal, *Satires*, iii. 164–165.

[40] A sermon preached at the Laigh Church of Paisley on February 21, 1762, reprinted in *Works*, II. 479–507.

[41] *Works*, II. 499.

[42] *Works*, III. 110.

dren,[43] he urges the importance of a good example, quoting "the Roman Satyrist" [Juvenal]:

Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat
Intra quae puer est,

as well as the other famous phrase of the same author:

Maxima debetur puero reverentia.[44]

In his *Letters on Marriage*[45] he ridicules the current fashion of naming Venus and Minerva as allegorical compliments to young people in love.[46] "I wish every Strephon and Daphne heartily well, and that the exalted and rapturous phrases of Arcadia may be soon brought down to the composed discourse of a quiet man and wife in Philadelphia."[47]

These letters are clear; they read easily. The speaker understands young people. He compares the play of children with the futile pursuits of many of their elders: "Schemes of ambition, . . . political struggles, . . . contests for power . . . are often as great trifles as the playthings of children, only that they are the playthings of men."[48]

Among undesirable playthings, in the preacher's opinion, is the theatre. *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage*[49] reflects the current idea that the spoken drama was not yet emancipated into respectability. Others, he declares, "have made it undeniably appear that the theatre was opposed and condemned by the best and wisest men, both heathens and Christians, in every age." Tertullian and Augustine[50] are called to witness for proof of the infamy of the *scenici*. But Witherspoon is only half right when he makes the statement that "Particularly at Athens both tragedy and comedy were soon abolished on public authority; and among the Romans they did not permit any public theatre to continue above a certain number of days."[51] The theatre of Scaurus was soon taken down, and the first permanent one, that of Pompey, was not built until 55 B.C. Roman Law is quoted to show that actors were classed as *infames;* and the words of Seneca are invoked, although they apply rather to the amphitheatre

[43] *Works*, II. 249–263.
[44] *Works*, II. 258–262. Juvenal, *Satires*, xiv. 44–47.
[45] *Works*, IV. 161–183.
[46] *Id.*, 164.
[47] *Id.*, 431.
[48] *Works*, I. 423. Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, iv. 2:xxiv. 12–13.
[49] *Works*, III. 121–190.
[50] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 22, and Augustine, *De civitate dei*, II. 14.
[51] *Works*, III. 127*n*.

than to the drama: *nihil tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo sedere.*[52] Plutarch is appealed to as frowning on Menander's plays,[53] and Witherspoon brands much of Aristophanes as puerilities. (So, however, did Arnold of Rugby.) Finally, the typical old Spartan answered an Athenian who spoke to him of the excellent lessons to be found in the Attic tragedies: "I think I could learn virtue much better from our own rules of truth and justice than by hearing your lies!" One also wonders why Witherspoon did not draw on Plato's *Republic* for support of his views. Admitting, with Samuel Werenfels,[54] that good school plays are sometimes worth while, and perhaps having in mind those of Westminster or the British universities or the Inns of Court, he concludes that the professional public stage is to be "viewed with abhorrence." A Roscius, a Molière, a Shakespeare may "overcome the prepossession"; nevertheless, the Roman tribune was right when he said to Nero that he began to hate him when he became "a charioteer, a comedian, and a buffoon." Aristotle may have been a perfect critic of the dramatic art, but the improvement of the art did not mean an improvement of the morals.

Witherspoon's *Lectures on Eloquence*[55] are the climax of his interest in the classical authors. They are Johnsonian rather than Addisonian in style. Like many of the eighteenth-century writers, he uses words with meanings closer to their Latin derivation than they are today. With him *radical* means "fundamental." *Denounce* means "report unfavorably." *Ascertain* signifies "make sure" rather than "discover." When Witherspoon says *incumbent,* the meaning is "weighing heavily upon." *Police* equals "civil government." Discussing the value of a national capital, he suggests that it be "unfixed and ambulatory." *Obviate* occurs in the sense of "go to meet" or "forestall." *Object* (as a verb) is equivalent to "throw in the teeth of." *Notify* implies that the thing is made known to the person rather than that the person is informed of the thing. And so in many other cases which need not be catalogued further.

These lectures will bear reading today; we can even now appreciate the gusto with which the President heard and criticized every senior at the delivery of his weekly oration. He follows and acknowledges Quintilian[56] in recommending "for the complete orator a combination of natural tal-

[52] Seneca, *Epistulae morales,* vii. 2.

[53] *De glor. Athen.,* 5. *Sympos.,* book vii, question 8.

[54] *Oratio de comoedis,* published in English translation as *The usefulness of dramatic interludes in the education of youth: an oration* . . . (London, 1744).

[55] *Works,* III. 475–592.

[56] *Instit. Orat.,* especially book i.

ents and acquired skill." Pericles, Demosthenes, and Cicero should be studied, and the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian should be mastered. The trite story of his physical handicap brings the great Greek orator especially to Witherspoon's attention because he himself had very nearly despaired of success as a speaker on account of his slowness of enunciation. The orator also, as all the ancient experts recommend, should be in hard training, live simply, and concentrate on his task.

A sound writer and speaker should, first, be thoroughly familiar with his own language, *plus* Latin and Greek. He should be master of syntax and forms: Latin gives "muscle" and Greek gives grace. What a difference exists between the Latin and modern Italian! Emphasizing the proper use of figures of speech, with illustrations from the classical and vernacular languages, and recommending frequent practice in style, the lecturer runs the whole gamut of suggestions for good writing and speaking. For example, personification is exemplified by the dialogue between Cicero and his beloved Italy. Euphemism is found in Cicero's comment on the slaughter of Clodius by Milo's servants: "They did that which every good man would want his servants to do in like circumstances."[57] *Propriety* avoids extravagance: it would be absurd to quote the passage from Homer where Jupiter brags that he could hang all the other gods on a chain and toss them up as easily as a ball, or (as Longinus also felt) the Hesiod episode which includes a disgusting description of the Goddess of Darkness.

The proper use of *clausulae* in sentence rhythm (for which he gives examples from Cicero) and the correct divisions of an oration should form the base of style. Proverbial advice, of the traditional type, is frequent: *scribendum quam plurimum; nocturna versate manu, versate diurna; reddere auditorem attentum, benevolum, docilem; denique sit quodvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.*[58]

Livy should be studied for straightforwardness, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* for directness. Address different audiences in different ways: Seneca's *genus dicendi mutatur per publicos mores*[59] is very much to the point. Select from the short and "dry" method the elegant and ornate or the diffuse. The "pointed style" is compared with the brief and epigrammatic sentences of the English *Gentleman Instructed*. One must be cognizant of the five ingredients that are important for the leader who aims to convince—elevation, feeling, figures, nobility of language, and arrangement of

[57] Cicero, *Pro Milone*, x. 29.

[58] Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 268–269, 23. The other two phrases are found, in nearly uniform language, in Cicero, Quintilian, and later rhetorical writers.

[59] *Epistulae morales*, cxiv. 2. The correct text is *genus dicendi imitatur publicos mores.*

words. Most vital of all are *sales* (wit), *eutrapelia* (appropriate manner), and *urbanitas*. That is why Lucian's dialogues possess such charm, following Horace's dictum:

et prodesse volunt et delectare poetae.[60]

All this is, to be sure, old-fashioned stuff for these modern days; but when one thinks of the results, in the shape of the men trained in this school of writing and thinking, one realizes the truth of the proverb so popular with the President himself: *abeunt studia in mores*. And Witherspoon was the first to admit that eloquence does not accomplish everything. He explains that when Caesar had it in mind to condemn Ligarius and was ultimately led to pardon him, it was accomplished not so much by the persuasive tongue of Cicero as by Caesar's own habit of making friends by forgiving enemies, as well as by his desire to flatter and win over Cicero.[61] It is anyhow a large-scale problem; and Cicero's own *Archias* points the way: *omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum*.[62]

The third phase of Witherspoon's activity is the most impressive—his preparation of young men for political life and his own participation in national affairs. He established graduate courses "to fit young gentlemen for serving their country in public stations."[63] In Scotland he had taken a modest part in local affairs; but in the colonies he believed that a clergyman should apply his morals and learning to national matters. As a member of the Continental Congress, he objected to the clause in the constitution of Georgia which forbade a minister to serve in the legislature. It was a duty. In a sermon *On Nature under Sin*, he explained his idea: "I have in view the sages and legislators of antiquity, who acquired so much renown by establishing systems of policy and government for different states. What was this else but taming the savage, and restraining the profligate part of their fellow-creatures?"[64] What Witherspoon desired was the σπουδαιότης of the classical writers, directed efficiently to modern statecraft. Guidance is vital: "Some states are formed to subsist by sobriety and parsimony, as the Lacedaemonians. . . . Public spirit in others, as in Greece, ancient Rome, and Britain. . . . Sometimes [public spirit] is a passion for acquiring glory and dominion, as in Rome, and sometimes for preserving liberty, as

[60] *Ars Poetica*, 333.
[61] Cicero, *Pro Ligario*.
[62] *Pro Archia Poeta*, i. 2.
[63] Collins, *op. cit.*, i. 112.
[64] *Works*, i. 277.

in Greece and Britain."[65] By such illustrations he oriented the minds of his students. He believed earnestly in the future of America. Ancient systems may have been founded "by caprice or accident, by the influence of prevailing parties, or particular persons, or prescribed by a conqueror"; but America was settled on a large and coöperative scale. In some details his statements may be inaccurate; but his main aim was the building of a great republic.

"Nature" and "Natural Rights" were of course ingredients of many articles and speeches by Witherspoon. Beginning with Winthrop's "liberty natural and liberty civil," they had occupied colonial pamphleteers. Provided Nature, with all its implications of human inadequacy, is not used in a religious sense, as in the opinions of the deists and the Moderates, it is a good weapon for American rights. And so, when the lecturer remarks: "Separate and independent states are, with regard to one another, in a state of natural liberty, or as man to man before the commencement of civil society,"[66] we can hear the voice of both Cicero and Samuel Adams. Fortified by ancient testimony, as well as by reading in modern political economists, Witherspoon marched in the vanguard, with Ulpian and the Stoics, toward the Declaration of Independence.[67]

This "State of Nature" is, in the President's opinion, only the prelude to a properly balanced social order. He stands half-way between the Winthrops and the Cottons (who shuddered at Nature in this sense) and keen practical politicians like Dulany and Sam Adams, who felt that the colonies were free from Great Britain and therefore were "in a state of Nature."[68] He commends "imperfect natural rights,"—such as gratitude, and mutual good offices. These, he tells us, are what the Stoics called "advantages." But in the social stage which follows the natural stage, liberty should be continued, and the mixed form of government (here he agrees with Winthrop) should be maintained. He follows Aristotle and Polybius. The doctrine is stamped with the seal of Montesquieu, and approved by such statesmen as Daniel Dulany of Maryland and James Madison.

The "compact" is a vital thing. "In migrations and the planting of colonies, we see evident traces of an original contract and consent taken to the principles of union."[69] In this way natural liberty is corrected by the

[65] *Works*, III. 450. See also his *Address to the Natives of Scotland residing in America*, *ib.*, 50 ff.

[66] *Ib.*, 439.

[67] *Digest*, 50, 17, 32. "By natural right all men are free."

[68] *Works*, II. 164–165; III. 416 ff.

[69] *Works*, III. 419.

Law of Nature and Nations, with the "law of general Reason" overall. Because of this belief, when Article 17 of the Confederation was being discussed, Witherspoon opposed Franklin, holding out for one vote for each state, instancing the fate of the Helots in Sparta and the Roman provincials.[70] In the Continental Congress, he pressed for the "information" (*i.e.*, development) of the original confederation, and for more control by the Federal government.[71] He belonged to the Committee of Secret Correspondence, fought paper currency, and wrote *An Essay on Money*.[72] The main point of the *Essay* is the undesirability of debasing the medium of exchange; and of course the author spoke feelingly. In comparison with his fellow-countryman Adam Smith, the learned Doctor is not profound; he cites President Goguet's "Rise and Progress of the Laws, Arts, and Sciences," explaining the derivation of *pecunia*, discoursing on the money of Servius Tullius, which was stamped with likenesses of sheep and oxen, and commenting on the bronze weapons of the Homeric heroes. It is much less interesting than the congressional debates in which the author took a prominent part.

A speech in Congress on the convention with General Burgoyne contains a warning to his countrymen that they (the Americans) should live up to their agreements and not give the British just cause for complaint that the articles of surrender were not being carried out. He illustrates the situation by the behavior of the Romans when their army was captured at the Caudine Forks;[73] the Romans sent the defeated consul back to the Samnites rather than approve the terms of peace. Rome broke the league agreement and sent an army against the enemy, in spite of the courteous behavior of the Samnites toward the consul. The Samnites, he concludes, were not wise, and the Romans were not honorable.

Under the pseudonym of "Aristides" Witherspoon discusses Paine's *Common Sense* and attacks the author of *Plain Truth*.[74] He is against all forms of communism: Sparta had a system somewhat like it, and a breakdown resulted. When enlarging on the evils and horrors of civil war, he draws lessons from Marius and Sulla.[75] Rulers should conduct them-

[70] Collins, *op. cit.*, II. 8.

[71] See E. C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York, 1941), and *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921). Also Francis Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889) and *Letters of R. H. Lee*, J. C. Ballagh, Editor, I (New York, 1911), 241.

[72] *Works*, IV. 203-244.

[73] *Miscellaneous Works*, 275. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ix. 7–12.

[74] *Works*, IV. 309–316.

[75] *Works*, II. 74, 225, etc.

selves, at any rate, like Philip of Macedon, who "heard reproofs not only with patience but with pleasure." In all history, Cicero appeals to Witherspoon as the only man who behaved better in a prosperous than in an afflicted state: he was at least dignified in prosperity, while abject in adversity, perhaps because pride was his ruling passion. A worthy example for all statesmen is the self-sacrifice of Fabius: when his rash colleague engaged the enemy contrary to orders, Fabius made himself responsible for the defeat, and thus won a great victory. This story illustrates the quality of magnanimity.[76]

A satire or squib[77] entitled *The Supplication of J. R - - - - - -* contains an attack on "Hortensius," the Tory governor of New Jersey. Witherspoon represents Rivington as saying: "I have served many of the British officers in a most honorable station and character, of which the great Pandarus of Troy was the most ancient example." This mock-plea for protection on the departure of the British was addressed to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and is full of Latin proverbs like the slogan *nemo me impune lacessit* and *egomet sum proximus mihi.* The writer also puts into his mouth a phrase indicating the danger of offending Scotchmen: Buchanan's *perfervidum est Scotorum ingenium.*

The titles of senior theses and Latin orations by Witherspoon's students at Princeton reveal the usual number of topics chosen on the theme of resistance to the mother country. In 1771 Freneau and Brackenridge had composed jointly a poetical dialogue on *The Rising Glory of America,* and Witherspoon's son James had defended in a 1770 Latin oration the same theme which Samuel Adams had selected at Harvard in 1743—that subjects were justified in resistance if the government were tyrannical. In 1774 T. H. McCaule delivered a Latin salutatory, *Bellum Servituti Anteponendum.*[78] Some of these eloquent thrusts seem far-fetched, as in the case of a boy orator in 1783 who, in the presence of Washington himself, in the course of an impassioned speech on the removal of Caesar by Brutus, caused a British officer named Michaelis (who was on parole and in the audience) to wonder regarding the appropriateness of the allusion. But he had probably forgotten that a parallel between Caesar and George III had originally been suggested by Patrick Henry, and was now presumably a cry of triumph rather than a reference to George Washington.[79]

[76] *Works,* III. 60.

[77] *Miscellaneous Works,* 359–368.

[78] Collins, *op. cit.,* I. 133–134, 140, etc.

[79] For a full description of this scene, taken from the British officer's letter, see D. W. Woods, Jr., *John Witherspoon* (New York, 1906), 128–130.

The result of this training did not end in the classroom or on the platform. The practical politics to which it introduced so many of Witherspoon's pupils is his crowning glory. We may amend upwards the figures given in the tribute of Doctor Rodgers, who stated that more than thirty congressmen had received this hallmark. President Madison heads the list. Aaron Burr, whose disgrace the old man was lucky enough to have pre-deceased, was probably the most brilliant student of them all. Ten Cabinet officers, thirty-nine congressmen, twenty-one United States senators, twelve governors, thirty judges (three on the Federal Supreme Court), and over fifty state legislators make up an astonishing number.[80] While there was much duplication, and while in those days leadership in public affairs was held as a rule by college-bred men of property, and granting that the Presbyterian tradition was strongest in the Middle States, the sum total is still impressive.

We may conclude that in Witherspoon we find a character remarkably close to all the problems of colonial life. Besides his familiarity with contemporary conditions, the classical heritage was expressed by him in terms that every church-goer or student or politician could understand. In his system, the policies were all workable; they were not mere abstractions. His Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude, with the Greek ideal of ἐγκράτεια, or Self-Restraint, translated themselves not only into discourses but into the lives of his pupils and the measures debated on the floor of Congress. One recognizes Cicero, Aristotle, and Montesquieu, blending with the common-sense philosophy of an earnest churchman, and resulting in a constructive Americanism. The often-asked question: "Can the procedures of a large state or nation be conducted like those of the ancient Greek city-state, where every free citizen had a vote?" was a frequent subject of debate by John Witherspoon and his colleagues. They only made a beginning of the solution. The uphill struggle still continues.

[80] Collins, *op. cit.*, I. 207–209; II. 44, 87, 90, etc.

Annual Meeting
November, 1944

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Tuesday, November 21, 1944, at twenty minutes after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The President reported, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, the death on October 2, 1944, of Major OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, and that on October 16, 1944, of JOHN STEWART BRYAN, Corresponding Members of the Society.

The President reported, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, the receipt of a letter from Mr. CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. SAMUEL WILLISTON, a Resident Member since 1919, was elected an Honorary Member, and Mr. CHARLES DYER CHILDS, of Boston, Mr. NORMAN LEWIS DODGE, of Milton, and Mr. CHARLES ELLIS MASON, Jr., of Milton, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE.

Report of the Council

SINCE the last Annual Meeting the Society has had its three regular stated meetings: those in December and February at the Club of Odd Volumes; that in April at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr. The Society is deeply appreciative of the hospitality of the Club of Odd Volumes in these days of rationing and shortages which make it seem an imposition to ask members of the Society to entertain us at their houses as in normal times.

The Society has elected the following members:

Resident:

Henry Morse Channing
Roger Ernst
Mayo Adams Shattuck

Corresponding:

Carleton Sprague Smith

The Society has lost by death two members:

Otis Grant Hammond, Corresponding, 1917, died October 2, 1944. As an editor and as Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society for more than thirty years he has deservedly won the gratitude of all students of New England colonial history.

John Stewart Bryan, Corresponding, 1934, died October 16, 1944. As President of the College of William and Mary and as one-time Overseer of Harvard University he was a notable representative of two distinguished colonial traditions.

The Society has issued no publications during the past year. Plans have been made for a new volume of *Collections* and ample material is available for a new volume of *Transactions*. Unfortunately, however, the Society was unable to secure a paper quota for the current year, and there is no certainty that the situation in this respect will be improved during the next calendar year. Accordingly the Society should feel all the more pleased that it has the opportunity to continue its substantial support of the *New England Quarterly*, the seventeenth volume of which is now nearing completion.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1944.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1944

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$10,325.86	
Loan to Principal	6,453.47	$3,872.39
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $134,098.47)	$130,907.15	

Stocks (Market Value $92,557.50)	80,871.21	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,071.87	214,850.23
TOTAL ASSETS		$218,722.62

FUNDS

Funds	$206,194.89
Unexpended Income	12,527.73
TOTAL FUNDS	$218,722.62

INVESTMENTS AS OF NOVEMBER 14, 1944

	BONDS	*Book Value*
$2,000	Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General 4's, 1995.	$2,490.00
2,000	Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	1,905.31
5,000	Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	5,137.50
5,000	Consolidated Oil Corporation Convertible Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,169.62
5,000	Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	4,663.28
1,294.07	Conveyancers Realty Company Debenture 4%—2% Fixed, 2% if Earned, 1957	284.70
2,000	Detroit, Michigan (City of) Refunding Water 3's, Series D—Loan of 1935, 1950	2,210.00
2,000	Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 4's, 1956	2,020.00
2,000	Florida Power and Light Company First 3½'s, 1974	2,175.00
4,000	Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	4,000.00
1,000	Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company P. & M. Division 4's, 1946	1,031.25
5,000	Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,125.87
5,000	Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75
3,000	Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad Company General 5's, 1974	3,945.00
5,000	Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series A, 1973	5,400.00
5,000	Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75

2,000	Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) Debenture 3's, 1961	2,115.00	
5,000	Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	4,437.50	
8,000	United States of America Savings Bonds Series D, October 1, 1949	6,720.00	
2,000	United States of America Savings Bonds Series D, November 1, 1949	1,680.00	
5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds Series D, January 1, 1950	4,150.00	
5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds Series D, March 1, 1950	4,150.00	
10,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	7,600.00	
8,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	6,080.00	
5,000	United States of America War Savings Bonds, Series F, May 1, 1954	3,770.00	
3,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds, 3's, 1946/1948	3,128.44	
3,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds, 2½'s, 1949/1953	3,210.00	
8,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds, 2's, 1951/1953	8,000.00	
5,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds, 2's, 1952/1954	5,000.00	
9,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds, 2¾'s, 1956/1959	10,026.56	
5,000	Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1958	5,044.62	
TOTAL BONDS			$130,907.15
STOCKS		*Book Value*	
75 shares	American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$12,599.76	
80 shares	Boston Edison Company	2,910.00	
3 shares	Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00	
50 shares	Commonwealth Edison Company	1,400.00	
40 shares	Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.	985.00	
60 shares	Continental Oil Company of Delaware	1,755.00	
2 5/10 shares	Conveyancers Realty Company V.T.C. Class A Common	3.13	
10 shares	du Pont, E. I., de Nemours and Company	1,550.00	

50 shares	First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share	First National Bank of the City of New York	1,544.81	
240 shares	General Electric Company	5,719.50	
25 shares	General Motors Corporation	1,562.50	
5 shares	Guaranty Trust Company of New York	1,667.50	
15 shares	Hartford Fire Insurance Company	1,436.25	
75 shares	Insurance Company of North America	4,070.00	
40 shares	Radio Corporation of America, Common	0.	
400 shares	State Street Investment Corporation	13,489.00	
5 shares	Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
25 shares	United Fruit Company	2,175.00	
35 shares	United Shoe Machinery Corporation	2,585.63	
25 shares	United Shoe Machinery Corporation Cumulative Preferred	1,103.13	
100 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Prior Preference Participating	6,000.00	
100 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Common		
60 shares	United States Tobacco Company	1,582.50	
55 shares	Western Massachusetts Companies	1,320.00	
30 shares	Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company	3,142.50	
TOTAL STOCKS			$80,871.21
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings			3,071.87
TOTAL INVESTMENTS			$214,850.23

COMPOSITION OF FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1944

Sarah Louisa Edes Fund, established under the will of Henry H. Edes. One half of the gross income to be added semi-annually to the principal of the fund; the remaining half of the income of the fund shall be used towards defraying the cost of the Society's Publications other than the Transactions with certain qualifications as to the methods of publication $63,698.14

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications 10,000.00

General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees added to Principal, Gains on Sale of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense 15,049.53

Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the maximum sum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	7,947.22
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
Commutation Fund, established by crediting all commutations received from 1893 to date. Income to be used for Current Expense	8,500.00
Samuel Henshaw Fund, established in 1942 under his will without restriction as to use	5,000.00
Total Funds	$206,194.89

Changes in Principal of Funds

Total Funds, November 14, 1943			$141,082.99
Add—Additions to Special Funds:			
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund			
Stocks	$31,346.89		
Bonds	32,351.25	$63,698.14	
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund		256.26	
Add—Additions to General Fund:			
Admission Fees		30.00	
Profit from Sale of Securities:			
$5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944		1,127.50	65,111.90
Total Funds, November 14, 1944			$206,194.89

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance, November 14, 1943			$8,770.06
RECEIPTS:			
Interest		$2,561.78	
Dividends		2,376.10	
Annual Assessments		710.00	
Sale of Society's Publications		311.55	5,959.43
Total Receipts of Income			$14,729.49
DISBURSEMENTS:			
New England Quarterly		$1,300.00	
Editor's Salary		1,000.00	
Secretarial Expense		450.00	
Annual Dinner		374.74	
Storage		300.76	
Publications—Volume 34	$141.57		
Publications—Volume 35	43.75	185.32	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings		169.15	
Insurance		128.10	
Auditing Services		125.00	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous		90.30	
Safe Deposit Box		24.00	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Added to Principal		256.26	
Total Disbursements of Income			4,403.63
Balance of Income, November 14, 1944			$10,325.86

PRINCIPAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1943		*$7,739.73*
RECEIPTS:		
$5,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, July 1, 1944	$5,000.00	
1,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	1,000.00	
Admission Fees	30.00	
Transferred from Income to Principal		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	256.26	6,286.26
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF PRINCIPAL		*$1,453.47*
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$5,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 2's, 1952/1954		5,000.00
LOAN TO PRINCIPAL, NOVEMBER 14, 1944		*$6,453.47*

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1944, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

ALLSTON BURR
HERMANN F. CLARKE
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years WILLIAM EMERSON

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. Professor Theodore Spencer was the guest of the Society, and Chief Justice FIELD said grace.

Mr. HENRY C. KITTREDGE then addressed the Society.

The President read the provisions of the thirteenth article of the will of HENRY H. EDES, under which, after the death of certain life tenants and the payment of $1000.00 to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Society had received a fund amounting to about $64,000.00. The article read as follows:

The balance then remaining in his hands shall be paid over to THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS to constitute a fund to be forever named the SARAH LOUISA EDES FUND, in memory of my mother, the income thereof only to be used, and for these purposes: First: One half of the gross income shall be added semi-annually to the principal of the Fund, which I direct shall be invested always with a primary regard to safety; Second: The remaining half of the income of the Fund shall be used towards defraying the cost of the Society's *Publications* other than the *Transactions*, preference to be given to the copying, calendaring, printing, careful and thorough editing, illustration, and thorough and complete indexing of original Records and papers of Massachusetts Churches (especially the older Churches of Boston), Towns and Counties; the Colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay and of the Province in which they were merged; the House Journals from 1715 to the adoption of the Constitution; and of Harvard College.

Every volume printed at the charge of this Fund shall bear upon its title-page the words, PRINTED AT THE CHARGE OF THE SARAH LOUISA EDES FUND.

The indexes of every volume printed at the charge of this Fund shall be of the most thorough and complete kind, and include the name of every person and every place mentioned therein.

I request that such person or persons other than the Editor of Publications as shall be appointed to have charge of the volumes printed at its expense shall be selected because of their special interest in or qualification for the work committed to his or their hands.

This bequest is made upon the express condition that neither the whole nor any part of the principal or of the income thereof shall ever be designated by my own name. If I have ever done anything during my life worthy of remembrance or commemoration, it is attributable to the devotion and self sacrifice of my mother, whose unflagging interest in my work was always an encouragement to high endeavor and greater zeal. Such a life as hers,—of helpfulness and generous and unselfish devotion to others,—her kindred, her friends, the poor, and the suffering in every walk of life, deserves this permanent memorial, which is in consonance with her nature, since it will forever be helpful to others in a field in which she herself was deeply interested.

Professor THEODORE SPENCER then read one of his poems entitled "Heritage."

December Meeting, 1944

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 21, 1944, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The President reported the receipt of letters from Mr. SAMUEL WILLISTON, accepting election to Honorary Membership, and from Mr. CHARLES DYER CHILDS and Mr. NORMAN LEWIS DODGE, accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL, of New Haven, Connecticut, and Mr. RAYMOND PHINEAS STEARNS, of Urbana, Illinois, were elected Corresponding Members of the Society.

Dr. HAROLD BOWDITCH read the following paper:

Early Water-Color Paintings of New England Coats of Arms

THE fashion of a general interest in heraldry waxes and wanes. Perhaps as good an index of this interest as any is the demand for books on the subject. Thomas Moule's *Bibliotheca Heraldica* (London, 1822) lists, reign by reign and year by year, the books published in England which have heraldic interest. The reign of Queen Anne (March 8, 1702–August 1, 1714), seems to have been a barren period for literature on heraldry; there were books on the succession, on the genealogy of the House of Stuart, on titles and privileges and the like, all of which must have had more or less heraldic interest, but the only book devoted to the subject of heraldry was by a Scotsman, Alexander Nisbet, *An Essay on Additional Figures and Marks of Cadency* (1702). Seven years later the first edition of the *Peerage of England* by Arthur Collins made its appearance; of this an enlarged and corrected second edition came out in 1710, a second volume was added in 1711, and the third edition, in two parts issued in 1714, was followed by a supplementary volume in 1716. Obviously the

book responded to a fairly widespread interest, but the great popular treatise on the subject of heraldry was John Guillim's *Display of Heraldry,* which had first appeared a century before and had by Queen Anne's time been through a number of editions. There was then no general armory, nor did one appear for another half-century or more. Then as now there was an erroneous popular belief that identity of name indicated identity of family, and, as a corollary, that all of one name had a right to the same arms. Hence, if a name were found in a book of heraldry, there was no hesitation on the part of those with the same (or with a similar) name in adopting as their own the arms which were given in the book.

The accession of George I (August 1, 1714) marked the beginning of a new dynasty, and there was a veritable flood of books on the Hanoverian genealogy, the orders of knighthood, politics, biography, ceremonials, titles, and the like, besides several works on the peerage and baronetage. Heraldry as a subject in itself is represented by Samuel Kent's *Grammar of Heraldry* (1716, 1719, and 1724), Nisbet's *Ancient and Modern Use of Armories* (1718) and *System of Heraldry* (1722), a new edition of Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* (1724), James Coats's *A New Dictionary of Heraldry* (1725), and Kent's *The Banner Display'd* (1726–1728, reprinted in 1755).

As before, Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* was the standard work on the subject. The first edition appeared in 1611, a small folio of 290 pages measuring about 11 by 7 inches and weighing less than half a pound. The book is a treatise on heraldry and not an armory, but the arms of individuals are used to illustrate the text, and a common form of statement is this example: "Hee beareth Azure, six Mullets; three, two, and one, Or, by the name of Welsh." The work went through a number of editions, gradually increasing in size and contents and culminating in the so-called sixth edition of 1724, a tall folio of 854 pages measuring about 15½ by 9½ inches and weighing a little over ten pounds. The quotation just cited, as well as many others like it, is retained in this last edition.

Kent, in his *Grammar of Heraldry,* a small book, illustrates many family coats of arms, but there are many more in his two-volume *The Banner Display'd.* This he calls "an Abridgment of Guillim," and Thomas Moule says of the work that Kent omits the philosophical digressions and inserts above three thousand coats. The publication of these works in the years 1724–1728 put into the hands of coach painters, funeral arms designers, engravers, and such people a large number of family arms which were not represented in the books on the peerage, and this access to new material is probably not unconnected with the fact, noted by a number of observers,

that it was at about this time that the display of coats of arms became popular in New England. It is known that Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* was in the hands of John Coles of Boston, a publisher and heraldry painter, and it can be shown that his copy was the edition of 1724; it has been thought that this book was his only source, but there is evidence that he also used Kent's *The Banner Display'd*. Another copy of the 1724 edition of Guillim is thought to have been owned by George Searle, an arms painter of Newburyport, and is known to have been owned by his successor, Edward Bass; it is, in fact, still in the possession of Bass's descendants.

At this period certain families had accumulated a good deal of wealth, and it seemed to them appropriate to have arms engraved on silver, chiseled on gravestones, embroidered on silk or other fabrics, and painted in oils for hatchments or in water colors as ornaments. The custom in England was to display on the front of the house whose owner had died his coat of arms painted on a square panel of wood or canvas, hung by a corner. This was called a hatchment, and a number survive in this country. After six months or more the hatchment was taken down and was sometimes preserved in the local church. The shape of the hatchment probably suggested the form which became common in embroideries and less so in water-color paintings; but these ornaments were not intended to be exposed to the weather and cannot properly be called hatchments.[1]

The fashion of having arms painted in water color seems to have begun a few years later. At any rate, the earliest date attributed to an American example is 1740 when the owner wrote an inscription on the back, although, of course, the work itself may be somewhat earlier. The paintings were produced, in a certain easily recognized type, for about a hundred years. Richard C. Lichtenstein says:

> From 1750 to 1775 there was hardly a family of wealth or social distinction but could show its family arms engraved and used as a book-plate, or painted by some of the numerous herald-painters who flourished during that period. . . For several years after the Revolution, the use of Coats of Arms seems to have fallen slightly into disfavor, the period of 1780 to 1810 being a seemingly barren one. Cooper, in his "Notions of an American picked up by a Traveling Bachelor," speaks of John Cadwalader, of New York, as having destroyed his arms, presumably on account of his intensely Republican sentiments.[2]

[1] Howard M. Chapin, "Colonial Hatchments," *Antiques*, XVI (October, 1929), 300–302.

[2] *The Curio*, September, 1887, 15–16.

With regard to bookplates Lichtenstein may be presumed to be right; but the period from 1790 to 1830 was the period of mass production of painted arms in Boston. It seems not unlikely that the economic situation had something to do with it: after the war people were poor, and a water color would cost far less than an engraved bookplate. The Reverend William Bentley of Salem, in his *Diary* under the date of October 15, 1806, speaking of heraldry, says: "No study is so singular as this in the United States. The Revolution has extinguished even the wish to get money by drawing arms & selling them, as was done in a few instances before the revolutionary war." By 1806 Samuel Blyth of Salem, portrait and heraldry painter, had been dead for eleven years, so it may be presumed that he had left no successor there; but 1806 falls in the period of activity of both the elder and the younger John Coles of Boston and of Edward Bass and Benjamin Johnston of Newburyport, and there was accordingly no lack of arms painters elsewhere than in Salem.

These paintings of family arms, now anywhere from one to two hundred years old, are highly prized as heirlooms, and many have served as models for heraldic bookplates and the like. Yet in themselves they have no authenticity. Some were made up from the whole cloth, and others are merely the arms, as given by Guillim or Kent, for the name in question or something like it, but without proof of any connection. It is hardly necessary to state that the mere use of the arms of a family of the same or of a similar name does not constitute a valid claim to a right to bear those arms. The late date of the paintings, too, takes from them any claim to authenticity, for by the period when they were painted, arms were being taken—from the books—right and left. Some, it is true, can be shown to be valid, but through evidence earlier than that of the production of these paintings.

In the case of any one of these early water colors two questions naturally arise: (1) Who painted it? (2) When was it painted?

As for the painters of arms, some few are known by name, for their signatures appear on their pictures. Names of heraldry painters may also be found in the early lists of inhabitants, though their work may not be known. The great majority of the paintings, however, are unsigned and undated, and it has therefore seemed worth while to bring together a group of signed or otherwise well-authenticated paintings in the hope that, from comparison of an anonymous painting with a signed example, the authorship of the unsigned work may be established with reasonable certainty.

Engravings of arms of a date earlier than paintings of arms have come down to us, probably because silver and copper are less perishable than paper and canvas and also more valuable intrinsically. The engravers and

seal cutters would seem to be natural arms painters because the first step in making an engraving would, of course, be a design on paper which could then be easily colored and framed as an ornament. Hence a list of engravers may offer a clue to the author of some painting signed only by initials. Such lists of painters and engravers may be found in Mantle Fielding's *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*, George F. Dow's *Arts and Crafts in New England*, Richard C. Lichtenstein's list in E. de V. Vermont's *America Heraldica* (supplement) and in *The Curio*, Charles Dexter Allen's *American Book Plates*, and Louis F. Middlebrook's "New England Engravers," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXII (1926), 359–363.

The approximate date of a painting of arms may be surmised by one of several pieces of evidence. If the design is like that of a signed example and the place is appropriate, the dates of birth and death of the artist, or the time when he is known to have worked, give a reasonably good clue. In the case of quartered arms the date when the latest quartering "came in" by marriage will give the earliest possible date; and in the case of impaled arms (the husband's on the dexter and the wife's on the sinister side) the date of their marriage, if it can be obtained, again gives the earliest possible date. In fact, in the latter case it seems not improbable that the arms were painted shortly after the marriage to hang in the house as an ornamental memorial of the event. In the case of paintings by Coles, who not infrequently used the national flag as a crest, the number of stars and stripes may lead to a conclusion concerning the date of the work.[3] There were certain official rules governing the design of the flag, but, especially in the early years of the Republic, the rules were disregarded even in the case of flags actually used on government service. An instance in point is the flag flown by Commodore Perry in 1853, which showed twenty-nine stars instead of thirty-one. The *official* number of stripes was never larger than fifteen, but the original scheme of adding a stripe as well as a star for each new state led to curious flagmaking as late as 1818, in spite of official rules. How much more likely it is that such mistakes would be made in drawings and paintings.

Finally, the paper itself may offer some clue. Although wove paper was in use here as early as 1781, it did not become common until about 1800. Hence a painting on wove paper instead of laid paper suggests a date from 1800 on. If laid paper was used, as was commonly the case, it does not suggest any date, for it continued in use long after the introduction of wove paper. Watermarks might seem at first sight to be valuable clues, but

[3] See the table in the Appendix.

Fig. 1. By Thomas Johnson of Boston
1740 or earlier

Fig. 2. Attributed to James Turner of Marblehead
1752 or later

Fig. 3. By John Gore of Boston
c. 1750

Fig. 4. By James Ford of Salem
1757

Fig. 5. By Christian Remick of Boston
1772

Fig. 6. By Samuel Blyth of Salem

Fig. 7. By George Searle of Newburyport
1773

Fig. 8. By George Searle of Newburyport
1775

Fig. 9. By Edward Bass of Newburyport
c. 1800

Fig. 10. By Benjamin Johnston of Newburyport
c. 1804

Fig. 11. By John Coles, sen., of Boston
1790

Fig. 12. By John Coles, sen., of Boston
1800

Fig. 13. By John Coles, sen., of Boston
1801

Fig. 14. Probably by John Coles, jun., of Boston
? 1836-1837

Fig. 15. Probably by John Coles, jun., of Boston
? 1836-1837

Fig. 16. By William Southgate of Leicester
1800-1811

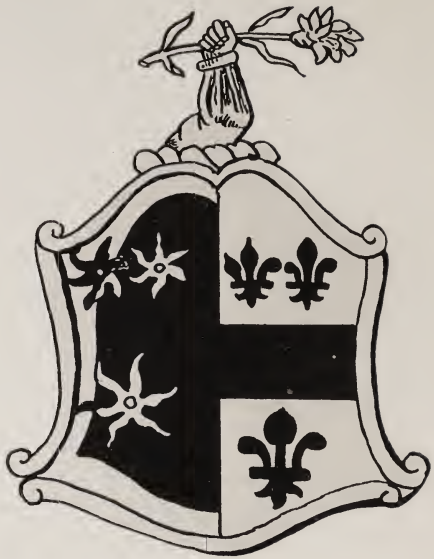


Fig. 17. By Isaac Child of Boston
c. 1847

Fig. 18. Attributed to Thomas Johnson of Boston
? 1744

Fig. 19. Attributed to James Turner of Marblehead

Fig. 20. Attributed to Christian Remick of Boston

Fig. 21. Attributed to Samuel Blyth of Salem

Fig. 22. Attributed to Samuel Blyth of Salem

Fig. 23. Attributed to John Coles, sen., of Boston, after Samuel Blyth of Salem

Fig. 24. Attributed to George Searle of Newburyport

Fig. 25. Attributed to George Searle of Newburyport

Fig. 26. Attributed to George Searle of Newburyport

Fig. 27. Influence of George Searle of Newburyport

Fig. 28. Attributed to John Coles, sen., of Boston

Fig. 29. Attributed to John Coles, sen., of Boston
(Painted in oils on canvas)

Fig. 30. Attributed to John Coles, jun., of Boston

Fig. 31. By Jeremiah Harding of Lowell, after John Coles, sen., 1829

there are serious pitfalls. In the first place, minor differences are legion. Again, a given watermark may be repeated for years, decades, even centuries. Furthermore, good pieces of paper were often laid aside for future use even as is done today. On the other hand, a collection of watermarks, with the dates when they were used, makes it possible in some cases to state that a certain watermark is appropriate to a certain period and place. Some paper is watermarked with the year of its manufacture, and, since paper was scarce and expensive, the probability is that it was used not long after being made. Yet in France a law was passed in 1741 that all paper made after January 1, 1742, must be watermarked "1742"; and this was literally carried out, in some cases even to the end of the century. Hence, French paper watermarked 1742 shows only that it is not earlier than that date.

Figure 1

Arms of LYNDE and others. "T Johnson fecit"[4]

This beautiful painting is quartered of six, showing the arms of Lynde, Newdigate, Digby, Browne, Curwen, and Smith. On the back is a paper stating that "The arms on the other side belong to Benj. Lynde Jr. of Salem, 1740." This, then, is the latest date at which the arms could have been painted. In style this painting is far better than any of the others which follow. Although the shape of the shield is "Jacobean" and unlovely, its scrolled edges are logically carried out; and the crest-wreath, although it does not surround the helm as it should, is at least not straight like a barber's pole. The mantling is really fine, and the motto-ribbon is occupied by the motto and not by the name of the bearer of the arms. At the lowermost corner there is a finial which matches well with the mantling, and hung from it is a small scarf, a type of ornament which is at least as early as about 1500. It may be the point of origin of the curious curtains later employed by Christian Remick and Nathaniel Hurd. In shape and placing this painting is like a hatchment, but the background is not black and it is a water-color painting on paper. A thoroughly inadequate and misleading woodcut illustration of this painting is given by William H. Whitmore in the *Heraldic Journal*[5] and in his *Elements of Heraldry* (1866); but Whitmore was working more than eighty years ago when the woodcut was the only means of illustration. The painting measures

[4] Owned by William H. P. Oliver, Esq., of Morristown, N. J., to whom my thanks are due for photographs of this and Figure 2.

[5] William H. Whitmore, "Early Paintings of Coat-Armour," *The Heraldic Journal*, III (1867), 33.

about a foot square and is on buff-colored paper which was probably originally white.[6]

Thomas Johnson (whose name is frequently found spelled Johnston) was born in 1708. While best known today as the engraver of highly prized and now rare views of Boston and of Louisburg and a map of the Battle of Lake George, there are references to him as a japanner and a heraldry painter. The Record Commissioners' *Reports* state: "1729 26 Feb. a shop at 9 Dock Square owned by the town leased to Thomas Johnson of Boston, Painter Stainer, for 7 years from 1 Jan. 1729, and, 1730 21 Aug. the above-mentioned shop, having been resigned by Mr. Thomas Johnson, was let to John Cravatt, feltmaker." Presumably the same individual is meant in a later entry: "1747 2 March Petition of . . . Thomas Johnson for Liberty to Build a Shop on the Towns Land at the head of the Dock . . . to be considered 14 March. 16 March the Petition of Thomas Johnson praying for Liberty to Build a Shop on the North Side of Faneuil Hall Market was . . . pass'd in the Negative." Between 1730 and 1747 there are records of four marriages or marriage intentions of Thomas Johnson (Johnston): June 22, 1730, to Rachel Thwing; March 30, 1733, to Rachiel Rebrooke (intentions); June 1, 1739, to Susanna Mackmillian; and August 6, 1747, to Bathsheba Thwing. Probably all of these did not refer to the same man, but the engraver's will shows that his widow was named Bathsheba, and it seems not unlikely that she was his second wife, Rachel Thwing having been his first. Johnson died on May 8, 1767, aged fifty-nine years, and was buried in King's Chapel Burying Ground. The inventory of his estate includes "glass arms, 4*s*" and a "Book of Heraldry, 48*s*." This book may well have been the 1724 edition of Guillim; in fact, it may have been the very copy later owned by John Coles of Boston. In the *Heraldic Journal*, II. 76, there is mention of an item in the accounts of the Honorable William Clark, merchant, 1742: "Paid Johnson for escutcheons and coat of arms and (stock^{n} for House)? £57." The strange word might be "scoch^{n}," *i.e.*, scutcheon, or hatchment.

Figure 2

Arms of OLIVER and others. Unsigned[7]

This painting bears no artist's signature; but below the middle fold of the motto-ribbon there is an erasure where the painter probably had signed his name. Why it should have been erased is unknown. Although the painting is anonymous, the circumstantial evidence strongly points to James

[6] For another example of the same design, see Figure 18, below.

[7] Owned by William H. P. Oliver, Esq.

Turner of Marblehead. The palm branches crossed below the shield, so familiar a feature of paintings of this sort, appear in this example. The arms are those of Oliver quartering Fitch and impaling Lynde. The match which is here memorialized is that of Andrew Oliver, Jr., and Mary Lynde, who were married on May 28, 1752, the earliest possible date for the painting. Only eighteen days before (May 10, 1752) William Lynde, the second of the two sons of Benjamin Lynde, Sr., and uncle of Mary Lynde, the bride, had died.

The honble Benj. Lynde Esqre, Samuel Curwin, Esqr and Mr. Henry Gibbs, executors to the last Will & Testament of Mr. Wm Lynde, decd

		To James Turner,	Dr.
1752	May 14.	To 8 escutcheons for ye Funeral of ye Decd at 8s aps	£ 6.
		To an Inscription on ye Breast-plate of ye Coffin	,, 8.
	June 6	To 9 Enamell Rings for do. wt 13 dwt. 23 gr	4 ,, 4.
		To fastening ditto at 9s 4 aps	
	9	To adding a Crescent for Difference 2s aps.	11 ,, 0.
		to each of the escutcheons at Marblehead, Sep. 2, 1752.[8]	

Subsequently his executors received a bill from James Turner which shows that he was an engraver. Whether he was also a painter is not clear. Yet the fact that less than three weeks before Mary Lynde's marriage he had been doing armorial engraving for her uncle's funeral, and the presence of the Oliver-Lynde arms, suggest that he was. That the Lyndes took their heraldry seriously is shown by the fact that on the ninth of June, nearly four weeks after the funeral, they went to the trouble of having the crescent which indicated the second son added to the funeral escutcheons.

This painting, like the preceding, was badly illustrated by woodcut in Whitmore's *Elements of Heraldry* (p. 74), where he called it "probably the work of Hurd,[9] or of his contemporaries," which is a pretty feeble statement. He reprinted the cut in the *Heraldic Journal* (III. 31), stating that it "may be attributed to Nathaniel Hurd." Hurd was of the right age, twenty-three years old in 1752, and the painting may be later. But no heraldic paintings from his hand are known, and there is nothing in this

[8] *Heraldic Journal*, II (1866), 94.

[9] *I.e.*, Nathaniel Hurd, 1729–1777.

painting to suggest his well-known style. He lived in Boston, and James Turner, heraldic engraver, was closer at hand in Marblehead.

The style shows a distinct falling off from the work of Johnson in 1740. The curiously shaped shield, which was in the fashion of the time, develops two meaningless extensions at the lower sides, the crest-wreath lies upon the mantling above the helm, and the mantling is less skillfully turned than is Johnson's. The palm branches, which are so commonly looked upon as the earmark of Coles's work, have been mentioned. The artist had the grace to use the motto-ribbon for its real purpose. Note also the tulip-shaped finial at the foot of the shield, now introduced above the ribbon instead of below it. There is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston an unsigned painting of the Green arms (Fig. 19) which is closely affiliated with this work supposed to be James Turner's. Joseph Green (1675–1715) lived in Salem and left seven or eight children, for one of whom this painting may have been made by the Marblehead heraldic engraver.

It is impossible to establish with any certainty the identity of this James Turner or the facts of his life. A person of this name, the son of Isaac and Mary Turner of Marblehead, was baptized in the First Church of Salem on March 4, 1722. If this was the engraver, he was thirty years old when the Oliver–Lynde arms were painted.[10] Another record shows that on August 26, 1759, Priscilla, the infant daughter of James and Mary Turner, was baptized in Salem Middle Precinct (later South Danvers). If this James was the engraver, it would appear that by 1759 he had moved from Marblehead.[11] I do not believe that James Turner of Marblehead was identical with James Turner of Boston, engraver, who is mentioned in many source books. Although the Boston man made and engraved silver for Richard Derby of Salem in 1746 and had been working at his art in Boston at least as early as 1745 he moved in 1758 or before to Philadelphia, where he died the next year.[12] If he worked for the Lynde funeral in 1752, he would have had to make the following moves: Boston by 1745 and in 1746, Marblehead in 1752, Philadelphia by 1758. It seems to me more likely that there were two James Turners, silversmiths and engravers, one in Marblehead and the other in Boston and Philadelphia. A further argument in favor of the Marblehead man is the fact that the style of design used by Samuel Blyth of Salem at a later

[10] Henry Wheatland, "Baptisms of the First Church in Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VII. 231.

[11] Henry Wheatland, "Baptisms by Rev. Messrs. Prescott and Holt of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VII. 41.

[12] *Boston Evening-Post*, December 10, 1759.

period (see Figure 6) was influenced by whoever produced the Oliver-Fitch-Lynde arms and the Green arms, and he would have been more likely to see the work of a Marbleheader than of a Bostonian.

Figure 3

Arms of STODDARD and EVANCE. By John Gore

This illustration is made from a careful copy of one of the many paintings in a manuscript book known as the "Gore Roll of Arms." For many years the original was lost to sight, and the arms were known only through a copy made by Isaac Child and now the property of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. From this copy Whitmore first described the arms, along with the others in the manuscript, in the *Heraldic Journal*, I (1865), 122, and he reprinted the list, with different numberings (having omitted such arms as were not American), in his *Elements of Heraldry*. The first Whitmore list and description were reprinted in the 1889 supplement of Vermont's *America Heraldica*. About fifteen years ago the original "Gore Roll" came to light, and it was then found that Child's copy was so inaccurate that a new description was called for.[13] The "Roll" is simply a record of arms and crests, showing no helms, and consequently no mantlings, and no mottos. The names of the bearers are given (in this instance Simeon and Elizabeth [Evance] Stoddard of Boston), and most of the paintings bear dates, one as early as 1682, the others between 1701 and 1724. As these dates are too early for John Gore, whose name is given as the artist in a penciled inscription on the flyleaf of the book, it would seem that the "Roll" represents a gathering between two covers of such coats of arms as had attracted Gore's attention, some coming presumably from the notes of an earlier heraldic painter in Boston.

The Gores were an old Roxbury and Boston family. Obadiah Gore, a carpenter, married Sarah Kilby. Their son John, the reputed painter of the "Roll," was a coach painter in Boston. Born in 1718, he had Tory opinions at the time of the Revolution and fled to Halifax in 1776 and was formally banished two years later; however, he was pardoned and returned to Boston in 1787, and died in 1796. He had three sons: John; Samuel (1750/1–1831), who followed his father's trade and worked in Newburyport; and Christopher, Governor of Massachusetts 1809–1810. Samuel Gore had three sons, two of whom, George and Christopher, became painters, the latter being in partnership with his father in 1806 or

[13] Such a list was published by Harold Bowditch, "The Gore Roll of Arms," *The Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, XXIX. 11–30, 51–64, 92–96, 121–128; XXX. 28–32, 54–64, 88–96, 116–128; XXXI. 24–32, 56–64, 90–96, 124–128.

1807. There were thus three generations of Gores who were painters.

The arms in the "Gore Roll" are not comparable with the usual run of ornamental paintings of arms of the period with which this article deals, but it is interesting to note that Gore used the type of shield which was popular in the seventeenth century instead of the elaborate "Jacobean" type which was the favorite of his contemporaries. This type is shown in an example preserved at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, a certificate from the College of Arms, dated 1709, showing the Emerson arms in color. Although no closely related New England example has come to light, it seems probable that our local painters were influenced by the style which was set by official circles in England. The work in the "Gore Roll" cannot be accurately dated, but it seems probable that it is the work of a younger rather than of an older man, and perhaps 1750 would not be far from the mark.

Figure 4

Arms of BARTLETT. "James Ford fecit 1757"

This painting and a companion piece (the Carder arms) belong to the Marblehead Historical Society. In design they are practically identical except that in the Carder arms the helm is omitted. The date 1757 is on the Bartlett example only. The design surrounding the shield is a very elaborate cartouche, skillfully conceived and logically carried out, and quite different from the work of any other known painter. A third example of Ford's work (the Chapman arms) is recorded in the supplement to *Bolton's American Armory;* if its whereabouts could be ascertained, it would be interesting to learn whether in this case, too, he followed this design.

I have not discovered where or when James Ford was born. One record, now over a hundred years old, speaks of him as an Irishman, so he probably came from Ireland to Salem where he is listed as a member of Colonel Ichabod Plaisted's Essex Regiment in the French and Indian War in 1755. The second record about him is this painting, dated 1757. In 1758 he drew a plan of Salem which is in the Essex Institute. He belonged to the Episcopal Church; and in 1761, when St. Peter's Church in Salem was enlarged, he worked on it as a carpenter and made a money contribution as well. He is best known, however, as the master of the writing school in Salem. The earliest mention of him in this capacity that I have seen is in 1765, when he was apparently under criticism for his violent temper, which is also mentioned elsewhere. In that year Deacon Timothy Pickering wrote to the Salem school committee, mentioning objections

against Ford because he was an Episcopalian and because of his temper, and pointing out that "if he was of a winning temper I don't know but that he would Draw one half of the Boys to Church with Him." Evidently this argument had weight, for the fact that at his death in 1781 he was spoken of as a schoolmaster suggests that the school committee decided to face the awful risk of the conversion of the youth of Salem. The fact that he was a writing master and a cartographer is consistent with his having made paintings of arms, though his curiously elaborate description of the Bartlett arms shows that he had no knowledge of heraldry and did not even copy correctly: "He Beareth Partiper Pale, first Partiper Fess Indenter Argent and Gules two Crescents Counterchanges Second Partiper Fess Indenter Gules and Argent two Crescents counterchanges: Crest a Pheasant Vert By the Name of Bartlett." He would have saved himself trouble by saying simply: "Quarterly per fess indented Argent and Gules four crescents counterchanged."

Figure 5

Arms of PIERCE. "Chris[n] Remich[14] Del:"

The painting from which this illustration is made is one of a pair, practically identical except for the arms and the crest, which were until recently in the hands of Goodspeed's Book Shop[15] in Boston, through whose courtesy the plate is lent. They are signed identically and both are dated 1772. The shield is of the shape of the period, but several new features appear. In the first place, flags, swords, cannon, etc., are introduced behind the shield, as seen in the so-called trophy bookplates of this era; in the second, trailing vines hang from the mantling, apparently related to the graceful garlands and sprays which appear in the bookplates of Nathaniel Hurd; and in the third, at the foot of the design there is a curtain which is perhaps developed from the scarf which appears in Thomas Johnson's painting (Figure 1). A curtain is also a usual feature in Hurd's work; and there is an example of the Smith arms painted, I am convinced, by John Coles, Sr., which shows a curtain copied exactly from Remick's work, including the two supporting cupids bashfully turning their heads away. The mantling in Remick's painting is *sui generis:* the folds have curious serrated edges and knoblike terminations which are unlike the mantling of any other herald painter. The use of the motto-ribbon for the name of the

[14] Remick here adopted the spelling of his name used by his immigrant ancestor, who may have been German. More commonly, as in the advertisement of 1769 mentioned below, he called himself Remick.

[15] They are now in the Farnsworth Gallery, Rockland, Maine.

bearer of the arms is so strongly associated with the work of John Coles that it is of interest to see it in Remick's painting, but an example presumably a good deal earlier is found in the anonymous Barton hatchment, at the Essex Institute (Fig. 18). This hatchment is in the style used by Thomas Johnson of Boston, and as Remick worked in Boston he may have picked up the idea from Johnson's designs.

An interesting account is given in *The Month at Goodspeed's Book Shop* for December, 1942, from which the following is condensed. Christian Remick was born in Eastham, Massachusetts, in 1726, the fourth generation of his family in America. He is best known for a water-color view, of which he made six known copies, of the landing of the British in Boston in October, 1768. In 1769 he advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette* that he made many sorts of water-color paintings—"Sea Pieces, perspective views, Geographical Plans of Harbours"—and also coats of arms. He had then lately returned from Spain, for he was a master mariner, and in the Revolution he was a lieutenant aboard the brigantine *Tyrannicide* of the Massachusetts Navy and aboard the frigate *La Hague*. In 1777 he was taken prisoner and set ashore on the coast of Maine. The date of his death is not mentioned.

Figure 6

Arms of PICKMAN. "S Blyth Pinxt"[16]

The whole effect of this painting is poor: the shield is lopsided and its framework clumsy; the crest-wreath floats above the shield; the palm branches are angular and ungraceful. Below the shield is a small finial reminiscent of the handsome large example in Johnson's painting (Figure 1), but much reduced in size. The motto-ribbon is empty. The late Walter Kendall Watkins wrote: "A coat of arms of the Pickman family by Samuel Blyth is at the Essex Institute, Salem, drawn in the manner of Coles, the cornstalks being broken or bent. . . . it is possible that the heraldic work by Blyth may have inspired Coles to continue it at a later time. The resemblance in design is certainly suggestive."[17] The connection was through Benjamin Blyth of Salem, son or nephew of Samuel, who became associated with Coles in Boston in the publication of engraved portraits of George and Martha Washington in 1782. The resemblance to the known work of Coles does not seem to me striking; on the other hand, there does seem to be an influence from the work of the painter of the

[16] The original painting is owned by the Essex Institute.

[17] Walter Kendall Watkins, "John Coles, Heraldic Painter," *Old-Time New England*, XI (January, 1931), 135.

Oliver arms (Figure 2) and of the Green arms in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Figure 19), which are thought to be the product of James Turner of Marblehead. In view of the locale this seems natural, and it adds to the likelihood that Figure 2 is the work of Turner.

About the members of the Blyth family there seems to be a good deal of confusion. According to one account Jonathan Blyth (or Bly) married in 1704 and had Samuel; Samuel was baptized in 1721, was a sailmaker, married Abigail Massey in 1743 and had another Samuel; this Samuel, baptized in 1744, was a painter, married twice, and died in 1795.[18] According to another account[19] the Samuel Blyth who married Abigail Massey and died in 1774 was a sailmaker and also a painter, and had sons Benjamin and William, no Samuel mentioned. If he died in 1774 how can one account for a bill of July, 1782, for painting and gilding E. H. Derby's house made out by Samuel Blyth?[20] It seems, therefore, that the first account is right, and that Samuel the father was the sailmaker and Samuel the son, the painter.

Figure 7

Arms of Cross. "G: Searle. pinxt 1773"

This painting hangs in the rooms of the Historical Society of Old Newbury in Newburyport. It is evidently the work of a superior artist. Although the conventional type of shield is retained and the crest-wreath floats above the helm, the picture exhibits a certainty and a delicacy of touch better than anything in this series since the work of Thomas Johnson in or about 1740 (Figure 1). The mantling is carefully worked out, and from it depend, on turned and returned slender ribbons, two heavy tassels, a new feature in native work but found in the Emerson certificate of 1709 at the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Below the shield and partly behind the motto-ribbon (which is empty) appears a dainty and elaborate finial. The palm branches are omitted altogether. Other paintings following the design of these Cross arms, but all unsigned, are: the Short arms in the Essex Institute (Figure 25); the Seymour arms shown in the *Seymour Genealogy* (Figure 24); and the Gardiner arms, painted on parchment, privately owned in Hartford, Connecticut (Figure 26). The Seymours and the Gardiners are from Connecticut; Cross, too, is a well-known Connecticut and Rhode Island name. George Searle, who

[18] Sidney Perley, *History of Salem, 1626–1716* (1924-1928), III. 369.

[19] Henry Wyckoff Belknap, *Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, Essex Institute, 1927), 6.

[20] *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXVI. 45.

painted the Cross arms, worked in Newburyport; but the occurrence of these other examples in the same style suggests that he may have worked in Connecticut as well, or perhaps that he copied the work of a Connecticut arms painter.

George Searle, painter, of Newburyport (*circa* 1751–1796) was the nephew of John Gore, coach painter, of Boston (1718–1796), the reputed painter of the "Gore Roll of Arms" (Figure 3). John Gore's sister, Katharine Gore, born in 1722, married in 1742 George Searle of Boston, and they were the parents of George Searle the painter. John Gore's son, Samuel Gore (1750/1–1831), the first cousin of George Searle, was a chaise and carriage painter in Newburyport. Thus it seems that Searle may have acquired his interest in heraldry painting from his Gore connections.[21]

Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts, had a daughter, Mary Dudley, who married twice. Her first husband was Francis Wainwright; their child, Mary Wainwright, married Chambers Russell, who died without issue in 1766. Mary (Dudley) Wainwright's second husband was Joseph Atkins; their child, Dudley Atkins, had a daughter, Mary Russell Atkins, who married George Searle, the painter, of Newburyport. Chambers Russell bequeathed to his "niece" (actually his wife's half-brother's daughter) "all his plate marked with the arms or crest of the Dudley family."[22] George Searle, then, must have been familiar with the Dudley arms on the silver left to his wife in 1766. Yet he owned (and Edward Bass after him) a small hand-stitched blankbook containing formulas for making paints, prices for painting chaises, etc., and an armory of eighty-five names and arms (not always both), chiefly of the local gentry, in which very different Dudley arms are given. This curious little roll of arms is owned by Mr. Charles C. Stockman, 2nd, of Newburyport, who has kindly lent it to me for examination. It is a strange fact that the Dudley arms are given as "Azure a chevron engrailed voided or" instead of as "Or a lion azure (or vert)" as they were used by the Massachusetts Dudleys. Searle's blazon for Dudley is found in Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* (1724 edition), and the volume which probably he and certainly his successor, Edward Bass, used is still in existence. Another reference to Searle mentions him as one of two shopkeepers in Newburyport having for sale

[21] To Mr. Charles C. Stockman, 2nd, of Newburyport, I am indebted for the biographical statements about George Searle, which he obtained from Whitmore's *Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families* (1875), Atkins's *Joseph Atkins, the Story of a Family* (1891), and the *Vital Records* of Boston and Newburyport.

[22] *Heraldic Journal*, IV. 108.

in 1775 a view of the town from a drawing by Benjamin Johns(t)on.[23] A search through the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* shows that between 1789 and 1795 George Searle was a part owner (in every intance but two a half owner) of no fewer than fourteen vessels ranging from sloops to brigs. A Kinsman coat of arms was painted by George Searle in 1773, but this has not been located.[24]

Figure 8

Arms of CLARK. "G Searle pinxt 1775"

The original painting is in the Essex Institute. Were it not for the signatures, one would doubt that this and the preceding painting were by the same hand, and in spite of the dates the second has the earlier and more amateurish look. The poor mantling is in a way suggestive of Remick's (see Figure 5), the narrow-throated helm is unfortunate, and—a new feature—the scrolls which continue the motto-ribbon cross the palm branches and terminate in perfectly meaningless eagles' heads. In spite of the signature this painting has been included in a list of the work of John Coles.[25] A painting of the White arms, in style identical with the Clark arms, is in the Haverhill Historical Society. In this instance there is an exception to the rule in the work by or attributed to Searle: "by the Name of White" is on the motto-ribbon, but it is in pale and very fine script and has the appearance of having been added.

Figure 9

Arms of TEEL. "E. Bass"

The original painting is in the Historical Society of Old Newbury. So closely does it follow the design of Searle's Clark arms (Figure 8) that were it not signed by Bass, anyone would be justified in attributing it to Searle. Since Bass was the younger man and Searle's follower in his trade, he no doubt copied from Searle's designs. The illustration does not bring out the fact that the motto-ribbon has been cut out and that the words "How Charming Friendship" are written on a piece of paper which underlies the painting.

Again we are indebted to Mr. Stockman for personal details. The Bass family came from Dorchester, Massachusetts. Bishop Edward Bass of Newburyport had a brother Joseph who is said to have gone to Annapolis, Nova Scotia, some time before the migration of the Loyalists, and thence

[23] John J. Currier, *History of Newburyport* (1906), I. 79, 80.

[24] *Heraldic Journal*, IV. 192.

[25] *Old-Time New England*, XXI. 143.

to have come to Newburyport. His son Edward Bass, of Newburyport, was a house painter, and, as we see, a heraldry painter. The degree of association between him and George Searle during Searle's lifetime is not known; but Searle's manuscript book of painter's recipes and coats of arms was in Bass's possession and the latter part is thought to be in his hand. Bass is also known to have owned a copy of Guillim's *Heraldry* (1724 edition) which has come down in the family; it is thought to have belonged earlier to Searle. Bass continued as a house painter through the first quarter of the nineteenth century and died in 1847 aged eighty-seven years, so the date of his birth was about 1760. Some painting such as the Clark arms by Searle (Figure 8) or the Teel arms by Bass (Figure 9) was apparently selected by Whitmore (*Elements of Heraldry*, 1866, p. 76) in order to illustrate what he looked upon as the typical work of John Coles, Sr., but he added the bearer's name on the motto-ribbon just as Coles had it. In fairness it must be said that it is easier to study the subject now when so many of the paintings are in our local museums than it was in Whitmore's day when they were in private hands.

Figure 10

Arms of GREENLEAF. "B. Johnston del"

This painting is one of a pair, identical in style and signature, side by side in one frame, the mate representing the Newman arms. They are owned by Mr. Charles C. Stockman, 2nd, of Newburyport, who furnishes what is known of their history and of that of the artist. The style of the painting resembles in a general way that of the Clark arms by Searle (Figure 8) which is dated 1775, and its copy, the Teel arms by Bass (Figure 9), undated but probably *circa* 1800. The scrollwork round the shield is heavier and at the bottom there is a heavy scroll, of the usual type but greatly exaggerated in size. Below this is the flower-shaped finial, unattached to the shield, modified from the form familiar since the work of Thomas Johnson, *circa* 1740 (Figure 1). The crest-wreath is enormously exaggerated in size, showing that the artist had no conception of its true function. As in the work of Searle and Bass, the name of the bearer is not introduced on the motto-ribbon. A curious new feature lies in the fact that whereas Searle introduced little eagles' heads as terminations of the ribbon, between the palm branches and the shield, Johnston has enlarged them, made them independent of the ribbon, and nestled them in the branches. In painting the ribbon, finial, etc., Johnston used white pigment which soaked into the surrounding paper, preserving its original whiteness, and contrasting with the rest of the time-darkened paper.

So far as is known there never was a Greenleaf-Newman marriage. Mary Greenleaf married William Stickney Dodge in 1804, and there is said to have been a painting of the Dodge arms, presumably also by Johnston; if so, the Dodge arms and the Greenleaf arms may have been painted to commemorate this alliance, the Dodge arms later removed, and the Newman arms substituted to fill the void. Only on some such theory can one assign the tentative date of 1804 to this painting. Benjamin Johnston was born about 1740 and died in 1818. In the Newbury burying ground are the stones erected over his grave and that of his wife, Ann Stickney, born 1742/3, died 1827. Between Mrs. Benjamin Johnston and Mary Greenleaf, whose arms Johnston painted, there was a remote connection: Ann (Stickney) Johnston was the first cousin of Abigail Stickney who married Thomas Dodge, and it was their son, William Stickney Dodge, who married Mary Greenleaf. In Currier's *History of Newburyport* (1906, pp. 79 and 80), there is published an advertisement from the *Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet* of the nineteenth of January, 1775:

> Just Published (Price one Pistareen) and to be sold By Benjamin Johnson near the Rev. Mr. Tuc[k]er's Meeting House, a North East View of the Town & Harbour of Newbury Port, taken just above the Powder house. Sold also by Edward Harris and George Searle. N. B. The above may be had at each place Framed, Glazed and Coloured.

This shows that Benjamin Johnston and George Searle, whose heraldic work has already been considered, were contemporary painters and shopkeepers in Newburyport; although Searle was about eleven years younger than Johnston he died twenty-two years before him. The spelling of Johnston's name is variable. He signed himself Johnston and it reads this way on his and his wife's gravestones. Nevertheless, his wife's father in his will (1775) spelled it Johnson, and Benjamin and Ann Johnson figure among the heirs-at-law of her brother, John Stickney, in 1803. As seen above, the typesetter of the *Essex Journal* spelled it Johnson in 1775. Benjamin Johnston's age and occupation bring up the possibility that he was a son of Thomas Johnson of Boston (see under Figure 1). Thomas signed his name Johnson, but there are a number of references to him as Thomas Johnston, and Dow publishes a record of the death in Barbados in 1772 of "William Johnston, portrait painter, formerly of Boston, son of the late Mr. Thomas Johnston, Japanner."[26] Whether Benjamin Johnston

[26] Later note: Frederick W. Coburn, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXXIII. 357, says that Benjamin Johnston (1740–1818), "one of the five artist sons of

was an engraver as well as a draughtsman and a painter is not clear. He made the drawing of the town of Newburyport and sold the engraving, which is not marked as engraved by anybody else, so it seems probable that he was an engraver as well.

Figure 11

Arms of LUNT. "Boston 1790. Jn° Col- - Pinxt"

This illustration is from a photostat kindly furnished to me by Mr. Walter Goodwin Davis of Portland, Maine, whose cousin owns the original. This painting is of interest for its date, the earliest dated authentic work of John Coles, Sr., which I have seen. Although he is said to have painted arms as early as about 1776, I think that there was confusion between Searle's work and Coles's. John Coles, painter, was taxed in Charlestown in 1791; his name first appears in the Boston *Directory* in 1796 where he is listed as a heraldry painter.[27] This is the only example that I have seen where Coles signed his name *on* the painting, for his usual practice was to sign on a label pasted on the back of the panel which held the picture in the frame; of course the label was usually lost, though a number remain. The work in this example is coarse and amateurish, the whole effect being produced by short strokes of the brush, which is consistent with its being an early attempt. No crest is shown, suggesting that Coles had not yet hit upon the expedient, when in doubt, of introducing the national flag for a crest. A feature, apparently unique, is the little sitting lion which appears in the scroll at the foot of the shield. Although in style this example suggests Searle's Clark arms (Figure 8), painted nearly a score of years earlier, rather than the Pickman arms by Blyth (Figure 6), it seems probable that Coles may have been started on his heraldic career through the influence of Benjamin Blyth of Salem, later of Boston, who appears to have been the nephew of Samuel Blyth. This painting presents two characteristics which run through all of this artist's known works and are found in the pieces of no other painters except perhaps those of his son, John Coles, Jr. In the first place, the mantling is short, coming only to about the level of the upper corners of the shield, so that the whole composition may be divided into two levels, the upper containing helm, crest and mantling, and the lower the shield, palm branches and motto-ribbon. In the second, shading on the mantling is indicated by cross lines, white on the dark parts and dark on the white. In this example it is crude and coarse,

Thomas Johnston, artist, of Boston, was long a notable personage of Newburyport, builder of organs and organist as well as painter of portraits."

[27] *Old-Time New England*, XXI. 134.

but in Coles's later work it is much finer. No other features, so far as I know, are *peculiar* to Coles; the palm branches are used by many others, the name on the motto-ribbon is found in the work of the painter of the Barton hatchment in Salem (Figure 18), as well as in Remick's painting (Figure 5), and the general character of helm and shield are practically universal, though Coles's shields are generally of a squatty type. The termination of the ribbon in eagles' heads was borrowed from Searle (Figure 8). This Lunt coat of arms was evidently made from a description of the arms of Lund in Guillim's *Heraldry*.

John Coles has engaged the attention of several writers. A correspondent signing himself B. H. D. first called attention to his work in 1865[28] and was followed by William H. Whitmore in the same volume (pp. 108, 109) and in his *Elements of Heraldry* (1866, pp. 75-77). The greatest amount of biographical information is furnished by Walter Kendall Watkins.[29]

B. H. D.'s words are:

> Stott, an English engraver, living in Boston about 1840, told me that the first of these [heraldic paintings] were the work of an Englishman in Boston, who was succeeded in the *trade* (certainly not the *art*) by his son, who had then been dead he believed for half a century or more. He said they painted the helmets, shields and ornaments at their leisure, and filled them up when called for.

He goes on to say that he has a painting of this type which can be dated as not later than 1776. Stott, an Englishman himself, would probably be right in identifying Coles as an Englishman; but with regard to the painting of 1776 or before, it seems to me much more probable that it was the work of Searle or perhaps another of his time, for the reasons stated above.

Whitmore's contribution is disappointing. He says that John Coles, heraldry painter, figures in the Boston *Directory* from 1800 to 1813 "and perhaps later"; that after 1806 there is found as well John Coles, Jr., miniature and portrait painter; and that neither is found after 1826. Of Coles, Whitmore says that his work is "easily recognized by the form of the shield, the mantlings, and palm branches" and in his illustration he shows as well the name on the motto-ribbon. He quotes the statement of the Reverend Dr. Jenks of Boston that he knew Coles in his early life, and that he made little or no genealogical research. The Reverend William Jenks, Harvard A.B. 1797, A.M. 1800, moved to Bath, Maine, in 1806, where he was as late as 1814 and perhaps later (*Bentley's Diary*,

[28] *Heraldic Journal*, I. 95, 96.

[29] *Old-Time New England*, XXI. 132–138.

May 15, 1814); he died in 1866, so was living when Whitmore quoted his words. Bentley, in his *Diary* under October 15, 1806, mentions the Reverend Dr. Jenks's interest in heraldry, and it was no doubt before this date that he was in touch with John Coles. Whitmore's statement about the dates in the Boston *Directory* leaves something to be desired. The easy recognition of a Coles painting is not helped by the example presented by Whitmore in a woodcut, which bears but little resemblance to the known work of Coles and a good deal to that of Searle or Bass. Whitmore's bland statement and the illustration that he used have brought it about that all unsigned (and at least one otherwise signed) heraldic paintings with palm branches are simply attributed to Coles without further question, thus greatly extending the supposed period of his work. Some call the branches cornstalks and some call them leeks; but whatever they are they are not the invention of the New England painters with whom they were such a favorite form of decoration, for they are found in *La Science Heroique* by Marc Vulson sieur de la Colombière (1644), who uses them in a design for the arms of a French queen. They are found as well, in pretty general use, in Ségoing's *Armorial Universel* (1660), so they seem to have no special significance. Palm branches appear on the bookplate of Edward Bysshe, illustrated in *English Book Plates* by Egerton Castle, who tells us that this plate was in use before 1655. Palm branches enclosing a design, such as G R crowned, must have been familiar to our colonists from watermarks in paper used as early as 1711, and at least as late as 1775.

Watkins evidently made a careful search for material about Coles, and has given us far more in his article than did his predecessors. He says that in 1782 Coles published, in Boston, portraits of George and Martha Washington designed by Benjamin Blyth, a pastel portrait artist born in Salem in 1746, and engraved by John Norman. Coles was called a painter when he was sued by Samuel Blyth of Salem, painter, the father [uncle?] of Benjamin Blyth, for nonpayment of a promissory note dated June 1, 1782. In 1785 Coles and Norman published a map in Boston. In 1788 Anna, the wife of John Coles, painter, bought a house in Charlestown, and he was taxed there in 1791. In 1796 his name appears in the Boston *Directory* as a heraldry painter. He died in Boston in 1809 aged fifty-nine, so he must have been born about 1749; but his name continues in the Boston *Directory* until 1816. With regard to his nationality, Watkins points out that a John Cole (not Coles), son of Thomas and Elizabeth, was born in Boston December 21, 1748. Watkins was familiar with the Pickman arms by Samuel Blyth (Figure 6) and suggests that the Blyth connection may have led Coles into heraldic painting.

Note that in 1782 Coles was a publisher and at about the same time is called a printer, and in 1785 a publisher; not until 1788 is he called a painter and not until 1796, a heraldry painter. It may well be that he lived for a time in Charlestown and kept a shop in Boston; also, that his son John, who is *not* listed as a heraldry painter but as a painter of portraits and miniatures, kept his father's name in the directory for business reasons. The statement of John Stott, an Englishman, that John Coles was an Englishman seems conclusive, so that the birth of a John Cole in Boston at the proper time may be taken as a coincidence. On the other hand, if John Coles's father and mother were both English, he himself might be, in the opinion of Stott, spoken of as an Englishman, so perhaps the record of the birth of John Cole in 1748 may refer to him. The difference between the two names, Cole and Coles, is not significant; Coles is the less common, and would be likely to become Cole at the hands of a recorder. As a matter of fact John Coles himself is listed as John Cole in the Boston *Directory* in 1796. However, the name Coles was known in Boston before the time of our publisher-printer-painter, for in the *Reports* of the Boston Record Commissioners (XIV. 81, XVII. 152) there is mention of a John Coles who was a constable in 1745–1746. Was this man possibly an Englishman, and the father of the heraldry painter?

Figure 12

Arms of HACKET. "Jnº Coles, Herʸ P." 1800

This is taken from a painting owned in Newburyport. It may be said to be a typical John Coles, Sr., piece of work. The mantling is composed of feeble little curled strokes which suggest feathers shaken from a pillow; it does not come down as far as the angles of the shield so that the composition falls into two levels, and we see the shading produced by cross-strokes mentioned previously. In this instance Coles used more white pigment than usual; in fact, he started to paint the white parts of the mantling on the upper dexter fold and gave it up, presumably because the white paint did not tell on the white paper. Time has darkened the paper now, and the white area stands out prominently. This painting is authenticated by the usual label pasted on the back of the panel, and is stated to display the arms of Sir Andrew Hacket of Moxhull in Warwickshire, Knight, one of the Masters of the High and Honourable Court of Chancery. The attestation reads: "Boston 18th Febʳʸ 1800. Copy from Heraldry attest Jnº Coles Herʸ P.," *i.e.*, Heraldry Painter. The passage is taken from Guillim's *Heraldry*, 1724 edition.

Figure 13
Arms of OSGOOD. "Jnº Coles Senr H:P." 1801

The original painting belongs to the Historical Society of Old Newbury in Newburyport. This, again, is a typical example, strikingly like the Hacket arms (Figure 12). The crest, however, is the national flag (a common feature in this painter's work) showing fifteen stars and fifteen stripes. This was officially correct from May 1, 1795, to July 4, 1818, covering the period when the painting was made. The label on the back reads:

He Beareth azure, three Garbs, in a double Tressure, flory counter flory Argent. By the Name of Osgood. Granted to Benjamin Osgood of the Blue Regt of Train'd Bands in the City of London, and descends to that Name. Boston 30th June, 1801. Copy from Heraldry Attest Jnº Coles Senr H: P.

This passage is not found in Guillim, but comes from Kent's *Banner Display'd*, "and descends to that Name" being Coles's accommodating addition. Kent, however, included the crest in his description, and it seems strange that Coles or his patron chose to substitute the flag. Another curious feature is the shape of the tressure. A tressure should follow the outlines of the shield, but Coles has drawn it as though it were on a rectangular shield with a "braced" base. The illustration in Kent's book does show a rectangular shield, but the base is not "braced" but shaped more like that in Figure 3.

In *Old-Time New England*, January, 1931, there is another illustration of a typical Coles piece, showing the arms of Adams and Cook impaled. The label reads:

He Beareth Gules, on a Bend Or, between two Globes, three Martlets Sable, Granted to William Adams, of Middle Temple London Councillor at Law, the 14th of March, 1639. The Field is Party pr Pail Ruby and Saphir, three Eagles Displayed Pearl, Granted to Sir Edward Cook Knight Sometime Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench. Boston 2d Octr 1799. A True Copy from Heraldry Attest Jnº Coles, Hery Painter.

Both coats appear in the 1724 edition of Guillim, but the Adams arms do not appear in the next earlier edition of 1679. This shows that Coles was using the 1724 edition of Guillim, as well as Kent's *Banner Display'd*. The crest is again the national flag, with fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, as seen in the Osgood arms (Figure 13). In the same issue of *Old-Time New England* there is a cut of the Bowers arms and a statement that it is the work of John Coles, but the evidence is not presented. Although the gen-

eral design follows Coles's, there are certain discrepancies. The shield is lopsided; the dexter palm branch is curiously distorted; the helm is set over the sinister half of the shield although the crest-wreath is over the middle; the handling of the mantling is unlike Coles's style and the crosslines for shading are absent. In my opinion it is a copy, perhaps a fairly early one.

Somewhere there is, or there was in 1883, a Coles painting of the Simmons arms dated as late as 1805, for a facsimile hangs in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Printed above the painting is: "A Specimen Fraud of John Coles, Sen'r." Printed under the painting is: "Copy of Certificate. 'He Beareth Party per Pale, Or and Sable, three Roses Counter-Changed, by the Name of Simmons, and Descends to the Name and Family. Boston, Sept. 6th, 1805. Copy from Heraldry. Attest (signed) Jno. Coles Sen'r., Herald Painter'." On the back is a label: "Fac simile of the original painted for John Coffin Jones Brown, Boston, Nov. 1883." The painted arms do not follow the above blazon at all, but are: Per fess sable and gold a pale counterchanged, three roses gold. In the 1724 Guillim these arms are described with cinqfoils, not roses, but not illustrated; so apparently Coles mislaid his "copy from Heraldry" and did not bother to look it up again, but tried his own hand at it. The crest is the flag with fifteen stripes, but instead of the fifteen stars which were right for the period, Coles introduced an eagle surrounded by fourteen stars. Mr. John Coffin Jones Brown was a member of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society from 1881 to 1890, and its chairman from 1888 to 1890. The above records show that so far as ascertained Coles first used "senior" after his name in 1801, presumably showing the time when John, Jr., began his activity as a herald painter—or "H. P." as Coles has it, as though it were equivalent to a college degree.

Two paintings which though unsigned are in my opinion undoubtedly by John Coles, Sr., deserve mention here. One shows the arms of Smith, and beneath the whole design the painter has introduced a legend placed on a curtain supported by two cupids, their heads turned away from the spectator; this design is a close copy from the work of Christian Remick (see Figure 5). The other, the Gardner arms, is unique in my experience: it is painted on canvas in oil colors (see Figure 29).

Figures 14, 15

Arms of Erskine. Anonymous

Arms of Sturtevant. Anonymous

So far as I know no authenticated armorial painting by John Coles, Jr.,

has come to light; the cut presented by Whitmore in his *Elements of Heraldry* (1866), p. 76, as probably the work of this man is to my mind indistinguishable from that of his father; and the situation is complicated by the fact, already mentioned, that Whitmore's illustration of the father's work appears to be that of Searle. The son seems to have begun his heraldic career between February 18, 1800 (when his father signed the Hacket arms, Figure 12, without adding "senior" to his name) and June 30, 1801 (when he signed the Osgood arms, Figure 13, with this addition). Watkins gives 1854 as the apparent date of his death; "John Coles of Charlestown married in April, 1809, Nancy Decoster of Charlestown. He died there Sept. 6, 1854, aged seventy-eight years."[30] Considering the fact that John Coles, Sr., lived in Charlestown there seems to be no reason to doubt that this statement refers to his son. Therefore the only way to identify his work would seem to be by its general style—that of the Coles mill—and by a date after 1809 when the father died. Since the Erskine and the Sturtevant arms, both at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, satisfy these conditions, I believe that they are the work of John Coles, Jr. Except for the charges on the shields, and for the crests, they are practically identical.

Figure 13, the Erskine coat of arms, is clearly a product of the Coles shop unless it is a poor copy; but as it is obviously old it is pretty safe to say that it is original. Its condition is poor, for it is badly faded and somewhat damp-stained; it has been pasted for preservation directly upon the wooden panel which is framed under glass and this probably accounts for the fading. There is no paper over the back and no trace of a label of attestation. In minor details it differs from the work of John Coles, Sr. The mantling follows the father's general style but it is, if possible, even worse with more of the appearance of chickens' feathers, and it comes a little below the corners of the shield; it shows the Coles, Sr., method of shading with crosslines, which show better in the Sturtevant example. The ornamental border of the shield is heavier than in the father's work, and on the bottom scroll there is, instead of the usual crosshatched ellipse, a rectangle with concave sides. The helm has a very narrow neck and the part which covers the chin merges with crosshatching, so that no outline is visible. The palm branches are quite different from those painted by the elder Coles, being rather regular, with leaves branching in opposite pairs. Eagles' heads are as usual introduced between the branches and the shield, but they are independent of the motto-ribbon. A striking feature of this pair of paintings is their asymmetry, the same in both; the upper part of the shield bends to

[30] *Old-Time New England*, XXI. 138.

the sinister side, the rectangle on the lowermost scroll is not under the middle of the base and is well to the dexter of the crossing of the palm branches. On the other hand, the helm is set on the middle of the shield. As individual features, there is a small lozenge, set horizontally between the shield and the motto-ribbon, and between the crossed ends of the palm branches there is a little ornament which suggests a fuchsia flower.

The crest in the Erskine example is important: it is the national flag, showing twenty-five stars (actually circles) and twenty-five stripes. From this one may deduce that the painting was made when there were twenty-five states in the Union, and this would be between June 15, 1836, and January 26, 1837. It would be interesting to try to confirm this by discovering the date of an Erskine-Sturtevant marriage, for it is presumable that this pair of paintings memorializes such an event.

No vestige of color remains on the field of the Erskine shield; the charges are three sheaves of gold, with a crescent gules for difference. Any peerage of the period would contain the statement that the first quartering in the arms of Erskine Earl of Buchan was Azure three sheaves gold; and if Coles's client happened to be the second son, that would account for the crescent. It is safe to say that the field was originally blue, a fugitive color, which has now completely vanished. In the flag there is still a little, more in the "stars" than on the field, for the white pigment has absorbed and retained some of it.

The sources of information about John Coles, Jr., are the same as those given in the sketch of his father. If the death record above quoted refers to him, as it apparently does, he was born about 1776. In 1788 his mother bought a house in Charlestown, so he apparently went there to live at the age of twelve. *Boston Marriages* lists the fact that John Cole (not Coles) married Mary Dunbar, September 7, 1798; he would then be twenty-two years old. In 1800 or 1801, at the age of about twenty-four or -five, when his father began to use "senior" after his signature, the implication is that he himself began heraldic painting. Beginning in 1803 his name appears in the Boston *Directory* as a miniature and portrait painter. He appears to have continued to live in Charlestown and to have had a shop in Boston, and to have lost his first wife; for in April, 1809 (when he would be about thirty-three years old), we find that John Coles of Charlestown married Nancy Decoster of Charlestown. His name does not appear in the Boston *Directory* after 1826; but he seems to have lived for many years more, for on the sixth of September, 1854, John Coles died in Charlestown, aged seventy-eight.

Figure 16

Arms of HENSHAW and HOUGHTON. William Southgate

This painting is in the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, and my thanks are due to the librarian, Mr. Clifford K. Shipton, for all of my information about the artist and the painting. It is painted on satin and framed; on the back of the frame, in an old hand, was inscribed: "Ruthy Henshaw Bascom of Ashby to Harriet Elizabeth Henshaw of Leicester. Painting by Wm. Southgate, Leicester, Mass." Written below the painting is the following:

Henshaw beareth, Argent a cheveron Sable betwen three Moor Hens proper; quarterly with Houghton, being Sable, three Bars Argent and for the Creston, a wreath Argent and Sable a Falcon with bells, or beaked and memberd Sable, alighting upon a wing Silver, crested Gules as is above depicted.

This faulty blazon betrays the artist's ignorance of heraldry, for he fell into the usual error of thinking that "or" was a conjunction and not the name of the metal gold; and the "wing Silver, crested Gules" represents his rendition of what in modern textbook blazon is called "argent guttée de sang." Perhaps the less said about his heraldic art the better; there may be a suggestion from Searle's work in the introduction of tassels hanging by thin ribbons; what serves for mantling looks like wind-blown autumn leaves. Note, too, that in the Houghton quarter he does not follow his own blazon.

Ellery B. Crane's *History of Worcester County*, I. 255, contains the following mention of the artist:

John Southgate, son of Steward Southgate, married Eleanor Sargent, daughter of Jonathan Sargent, 1776, and their children were: Sally, born 1777, died unmarried; John, born 1778, died 1804, unmarried, as related in this work; William, born 1782, died 1811, unmarried. He was rather a skillful and talented painter, he had cultivated his taste under several masters, among others, Ralph Earle, to whom he was remotely related, and Gilbert Stuart. The department of art to which he devoted his attention was that of portraits, in which he would have probably attained a distinguished reputation had he diligently devoted himself to it as a profession. Harriet, born 1792, died 1841, unmarried; Eliza, born 1796, married Jacob Bigelow, then of Montreal, where she died, leaving one son, Dr. George F. Bigelow, of Boston. George W., born 1800. Mrs. Southgate died in 1825.

Since the artist was only twenty-nine years old when he died, this painting may be fairly closely dated—say between 1800 and 1811.

Figure 17

Arms of STODDARD and EVANCE. By Isaac Child

In the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston there is an old manuscript book from which this illustration has been redrawn. It purports to contain a copy of the "Gore Roll of Arms," from which (original) an illustration of the same arms has been given as Figure 3. In this book the copyist has entered this:

The 100 Armorial Bearings commencing on page 129 . . . were copied about 30 years since, and are the "Coats-of-Arms" of 100 of the Aristocracy and Gentry of New England before the American Revolution, and were copied from the drawings of John Gore, brother or kinsman of Christopher Gore, an Ex Govr. of Massachusetts. June 21, 1877.

This gives the date of Child's paintings as about 1847. For this collection the Stoddard-Evance arms have been selected as a type of Child's work, for comparison with Gore's originals as seen in Figure 3. Instead of reproducing Gore's good, simple shield Child attempted something which he, no doubt, thought superior and more fashionable, so that his work has a certain value in showing what was then in use. It is unnecessary to particularize further than to point out that Child apparently drew the stars in the Stoddard coat without thought for the border, and then had to add it, cutting two of the stars. The original "Gore Roll" being lost, Child's copy served in its stead when Whitmore wrote his description in 1865 (*Heraldic Journal*, 1). There are so many discrepancies between this description and the Child copy as it now stands that it is evident that somebody has tampered with it. From Whitmore's description Child copied certain items into his manuscript, so it is possible that he made the changes himself. On the other hand, the use of what appears to be aluminum paint for silver suggests that someone in the Genealogical Society made the alterations, after Child's death. Figure 17, being merely one of a long series of paintings of arms and crests in a roll of arms, is in no way comparable to the heraldic paintings which were made to be hung on the wall for decoration, and it is useful only as showing to what a low point heraldic illustration had fallen by the middle of the nineteenth century in New England.

Isaac Child came from Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was born in 1792, and as a young man worked in a shop in Boston. When the War of 1812 brought business to a standstill, he passed his time in making an exquisitely fine copy of the *Irish Compendium*, in which it is hard to tell the work of the quill pen from an engraving. His copy of the "Gore Roll" was not made,

as stated, until about 1847. By 1865 when Whitmore wrote, the original "Gore Roll" had disappeared, and it did not reappear until 1934, when comparison first became possible. Isaac Child died December 23, 1885, therefore at the age of ninety-three; and on the first of March, 1886, his manuscript book was given to the Historic Genealogical Society.

This series of reproductions sets before the reader for the first time the work of twelve New England heraldic artists between about 1740 and about 1847. Nine are fully identified; John Gore's identification rests on a pencilled note in his book which there is no reason to doubt. John Coles, Jr.'s rests on circumstantial evidence which seems to be excellent. Only James Turner remains a shadowy figure, and it is hoped that something will be brought to light to clinch the matter. The purpose of publishing the series is to illustrate the style of a number of known men in the expectation that some conclusions may be reached in the case of heretofore doubtful assignations, though a warning is in order: one artist may adopt two different styles, as did George Searle in Figures 7 and 8; and one artist may make a close copy of the work of another, as is shown in Bass's Figure 9, which is so close to Searle's Figure 8. Even if this hope is not realized, the series will show that every early armorial painting showing palm branches and the bearer's name on the motto-ribbon is not the work of John Coles. A set of known points of departure having been established, it is of interest to see whether they can be used.

Figure 18

This painting on canvas in oils has a black background and appears to have been intended as a funeral hatchment; it shows the Barton arms and was given by a descendant to the Essex Institute in Salem where the Barton family lived. Comparison with Figure 1, a water-color painting by Thomas Johnson of Boston, shows that in spite of differences of size and of media, the designs are much the same, so close, indeed, that it seems highly probable that they are by the same skillful hand. Figure 1 was painted, we know, at least as early as 1740, and it is painted in the form always used for hatchments, suggesting that Johnson was employed for work of this sort. Family tradition, as usual, says that the Barton hatchment was brought from England by the immigrant ancestor, Dr. John Barton, of Marblehead in 1672 and of Salem in 1676. However, Dr. John Barton's grandson, another John Barton, died unmarried in Salem in 1744, which fits exactly the period of Thomas Johnson of Boston. If

Johnson made this hatchment, it suggests that there was no one near Salem at that time who did this work; and as far as I know this was the case. Of special interest is the misuse of the motto-ribbon for the name, which is seen in the later work of several other arms painters.

Figure 19

This painting of the Green arms has been given to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Compared with Figure 2, which is attributed to James Turner of Marblehead, a similarity is seen in the disposition of the folds of the mantling, and in both the motto-ribbon is in five folds. In details they differ, yet the suggestion is there that they are by the same hand. There is, perhaps, an affinity with the work of Blyth (Figure 6); but Blyth's work is messy and this picture was painted by a more practiced hand. It is also my belief that Blyth was influenced by the painter of Figure 2; if this was Turner of Marblehead, such an influence was most natural, for Blyth painted in Salem. There was a Joseph Green in Salem who died in 1715; he left a large family and it seems not improbable that these arms were painted by Turner for someone of this family.

Figure 20

In the American Antiquarian Society's building in Worcester hangs this representation of the How arms, and another is the well-known painting celebrated by Longfellow in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn" and illustrated by a photograph by Samuel Chamberlain in his "Longfellow's Wayside Inn—A Camera Impression." They are almost exactly alike except that the Wayside Inn example looks brighter and fresher and that in it the areas of gold and silver, which are flaking off in the Worcester example, are produced by bits of metallic paper cut out and pasted on. In every detail these paintings coincide with the Pierce and the James arms produced by Christian Remick of Boston in 1772 (see Figure 5), and, since Remick is known to have copied his own work again and again, it seems safe to assign both of these examples of the How arms to his brush. Even the handwritings are consistent, and the idiosyncracies of spelling and use of words, such as "bunch Arow's" in the James arms and "perced through $\overset{e}{y}$ mouth w^{th} arow" in both of the How examples.

Figure 21

The Bacon arms, in the Essex Institute in Salem, are consistent in design, coloring and lettering with Figure 6, signed by Samuel Blyth.

Figure 22

The Morgan arms, also in the Essex Institute, are consistent in design and coloring but not in lettering with Figure 6, so perhaps Blyth employed someone else on the lettering.

Figure 23

This cut is made from a photograph in the files of the Committee on Heraldry; the original is said to have been preserved in Marshfield. The general design seems to have been taken from some painting by Blyth (see Figures 6, 21, and 22); but there are characteristics which seem to me inseparable from the work of John Coles, Sr. (see Figures 11, 12, and 13), such as the disintegrated mantling, the white crosslines to indicate high light, and the good Roman letters on the motto-ribbon. It looks as though Coles had been commissioned to copy a design by Blyth, whom he outlived by a few years, but could not help showing his own characteristic technique. In the files of the Committee on Heraldry there is a photostat of a Smith coat of arms which has every appearance of being the work of John Coles, Sr., but at the bottom there is a curtain supported by cupids exactly as in the Pierce arms and the James arms by Christian Remick (see Figure 5). Remick and Coles both worked in Boston some twenty years apart, so there is excellent reason for supposing that Coles added this feature to his painting after observing some work of Remick's.

Figure 24

This illustration is from a photograph of the Seymour arms, kindly supplied by the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford which owns the original painting. Its close correspondence to the design of the Cross arms by George Searle (Figure 7) suggests strongly that he painted it; but Searle worked in Newburyport and the Seymours are a Connecticut family.

Figure 25

The Short arms, in the Essex Institute, are also in the style of Figure 7 by George Searle.

Figure 26

Another example of the style used by Searle in the case of the Cross arms (Figure 7) is the beautiful painting, privately owned, of the arms of Gardiner, apparently, like the Seymour example, of Connecticut origin. It is sometimes stated, on what grounds I do not know, that some of the

arms painters were itinerant, and these examples of Searle's work seem to give the belief some justification.

Figure 27

This cut of the Fairfield arms is made from a print from a negative in the Essex Institute, nothing being recorded of the original. The disposition of the mantling and the tasseled ribbons is close to the design of George Searle in his Cross arms (Figure 7), and the pattern of the scrollwork round the shield is at least not inconsistent; but the palm branches are not like those used by Searle in his Clark arms (Figure 8) and his White arms in Haverhill. In these White arms the name on the motto-ribbon has the appearance of an addition, so that its presence on these Fairfield arms is not a Searle characteristic. The safest ground to take is to say that the Fairfield painting shows the influence of Searle but cannot be said to be his work, but this alone gives us something because it suggests an Essex County provenance and a date late in the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century there were Fairfields in Ipswich and in Wenham.

Figure 28

Paintings which are obviously the work of John Coles, Sr., are so numerous that one—the Francis and Bulkley arms—will serve as an example for comparison with Figures 12 and 13. This is in private hands.

Figure 29

The Gardner arms, also privately owned, appear to be the undoubted work of John Coles, Sr., but are unique in my experience in that they are executed in oil colors on canvas. The painter's lack of experience with this medium is obvious. The provenance is Nantucket. Cf. Figures 12, 13.

Figure 30

This picture of the White arms is one of a number in the rooms of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, which are all much alike. They are painted on large sheets of paper in rather garish colors and have the appearance of crude lithography. On comparing them with the Erskine and the Sturtevant arms (Figures 14 and 15) it seems clear that they are by the same hand, supposedly that of John Coles, Jr., whose work is otherwise unknown. Note particularly the curious angular shape of the chinpiece of the helm; in the other three examples (Bittle, George, and Blanchard) the chinpiece runs back in three

right-angled steps; also the meaningless little lozenge, laid on its side, crowded in just under the shield. The principal distinction between this group of four and the Erskine and Sturtevant arms lies in the coloring; in the four unframed examples it is bright and fresh, but in the framed pictures it has almost wholly disappeared. This is to be attributed, I think, not to age, but to the fact that the Erskine and the Sturtevant paintings have both been pasted directly to the panel of pine wood. A piece of pine always stains paper laid against it, and in these cases seems to have destroyed almost all of the color. It seems to me pretty safe to say that these White, Bittle, George, and Blanchard arms are the work of the younger Coles.

Paintings of arms by other artists—such as Joseph Badger, David Mason, and Benjamin Hurd—are recorded, and it is hoped that they will come to light. The writer will be grateful for information which will extend the field of usefulness of this first attempt to bring together for comparison illustrations of these early New England examples of heraldic art.

Postscript

Since the foregoing notes were written, another signed painting has come to light:

Figure 31

Arms: Azure a chevron between three swans with raised wings argent.
Crest: A dove with an olive branch.
Legend: BY THE NAME OF SWAN.
Signed: HARDING pinxt Lowell 1829.

This was executed for Joshua Swan of Lowell, born 1788, died 1867, and has descended to his granddaughter, the present owner, Mrs. Alfred E. Hammer of Branford, Connecticut, who made the photograph from which the illustration is copied.

Mr. Frederick W. Coburn of Lowell has kindly furnished the following facts about the painter.

Mr. Thomas Bayley Lawson (1807–1888), a portrait painter of Newburyport, came to Lowell in 1842. In a scrapbook which he left, now owned by Mr. Coburn, is a newspaper clipping of about 1879 in which Mr. Lawson states that Jeremiah Harding was a sign and fancy painter with a shop on Central Street, Lowell; that a sign over a shop in Lowell was painted by him about 1827; that he died of consumption about 1830 and was buried in the Livermore graveyard in Lowell (no longer exist-

ing). Mr. Coburn records a portrait in Tyngsboro (adjoining Lowell) signed by J. Harding, and adds the curious information that Jeremiah Pearson Hardy, portrait painter, was born in Pelham, New Hampshire (very near Lowell), and moved to Bangor, Maine, where he also painted signs. These two men, living in the same period, and both with Lowell connections, might readily be confused; and in addition to this, the celebrated portrait painter Chester Harding was working in Boston from 1826 to 1830, so that the simple signature "Harding" suggests his authorship.

A glance at Figures 12 and 13 shows that Harding was copying the work of John Coles, Sr., but his technique and workmanship were far superior to anything achieved by Coles. The reason for making a copy might lie in the fact that the original Coles painting, made at least twenty years earlier, had gone into another branch of the family, or it might have been damaged in some way. The name Swan is not found in any of the three books to which Coles appears to have had access, and the arms as painted are not found under the name of Swan; but, with the small alteration of making the chevron ermine instead of argent, they are Swan arms. Since Coles did not find them in a book, he presumably copied from some pre-existing illustration; if this was a seal he might have overlooked ermine-spots on the chevron—or perhaps they were not there—or Coles may have put them in and Harding may have omitted them. In any event, the whole situation suggests that the Swan family, then of Lowell but earlier of Methuen where Joshua Swan was born, owned some family armorial piece from which Coles made his painting.

List of Heraldic Painters

Badger, Joseph: fl. *ca.* 1750; d. 1765; Boston. See Dow's *Arts and Crafts.*
Bass, Edward: *ca.* 1760–1847; Newburyport. See Fig. 9.
Blyth, Samuel: ? 1744–1795; Salem. See Fig. 6.
Breslaw: see under Hopps.
Child, Isaac: 1792–1885; Boston. See Fig. 17.
Coles, John, Sr.: ? 1748–? 1809; Boston. See Figs. 11 to 13.
Coles, John, Jr.: ? 1776–? 1854; Boston. See Figs. 14, 15.
Doig, George: Portsmouth, N. H., 1775; from London. (Adv., *N. H. Gazette.*)
Ford, James: fl. 1757; d. 1781; Salem. See Fig. 4.
Garden, Francis: fl. 1745; Boston. See *Heraldic Journal*, IV. 192.
Gore, John: 1718–1796; Boston. See Fig. 3.
Harding, Jeremiah: died *ca.* 1830; Lowell. See Fig. 31.
Hopps, Charles: under "Fancy Painters" in *Boston Almanac* 1849, not 1845; Hopps and Breslaw in same 1850, not 1852 and 1853. See *Heraldic Journal*, IV. 192.

Hurd, Benjamin: 1739–1781; Boston. See *Heraldic Journal*, IV. 192.
Johnson, Thomas: 1708–1767; Boston. See Fig. 1.
Johnston, Benjamin: *ca.* 1740–1818; Newburyport. See Fig. 10.
Mason, David: fl. 1750; Boston. See Dow's *Arts and Crafts*.
Remick, Christian: 1726– ; Boston. See Fig. 5.
Searle, George: *ca.* 1751–1796; Newburyport. See Figs. 7, 8.
Southgate, William: 1782–1811; Leicester. See Fig. 16.
Stott, John: fl. *ca.* 1850; Boston. See *Heraldic Journal*, IV. 192.
? Turner, James: fl. 1752; Marblehead. See Fig. 2.
Warren, Thomas: fl. 1775; Boston. (Adv., *N. H. Gazette*.)

List of Illustrations

(The writer wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the friendly coöperation of the many individuals who have made possible the illustration of this paper.)

Fig.	*Arms*	*Painter*	*Date*	*Owner*
1	Lynde, Newdigate, Digby, Browne, Curwen, and Smith	Thomas Johnson	? 1740	Mr. W. H. P. Oliver, Morristown, N. J.
2	Oliver, Fitch and Lynde	? James Turner	? 1752	Mr. W. H. P. Oliver, Morristown, N. J.
3	Stoddard and Evance	John Gore	? *ca.* 1750	Harold Bowditch, Brookline, Mass.
4	Bartlett	James Ford	1757	Marblehead Historical Society
5	Pierce	Christian Remick	1772	Farnsworth Gallery, Rockland, Maine
6	Pickman	Samuel Blyth		Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
7	Cross	George Searle	1773	Historical Society of Old Newbury
8	Clark	George Searle	1775	Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
9	Teel	Edward Bass		Historical Society of Old Newbury
10	Greenleaf	Benjamin Johnston		Mr. C. C. Stockman, 2nd, Newburyport, Mass.
11	Lunt	John Coles, Sr.	1790	Mr. Franklin Q. Brown, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

Fig.	*Arms*	*Painter*	*Date*	*Owner*
12	Hacket	John Coles, Sr.	1800	Mr. C. C. Stockman, 2nd, Newburyport, Mass.
13	Osgood	John Coles, Sr.	1801	Historical Society of Old Newbury
14	Erskine	? John Coles, Jr.	? 1836/7	Society for the Preservation of N. E. Antiquities, Boston, Mass.
15	Sturtevant	? John Coles, Jr.	? 1836/7	The same
16	Henshaw and Houghton	William Southgate	Before 1811	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
17	Stoddard and Evance	Isaac Child	*ca.* 1847	N. E. Hist. Gen. Society, Boston, Mass.
18	Barton	? Thomas Johnston	? 1744	Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
19	Green	? James Turner		Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Mass.
20	How	? Christian Remick		American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
21	Bacon	? Samuel Blyth		Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
22	Morgan	? Samuel Blyth		Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
23	Little	? John Coles, Sr., after Samuel Blyth	? after 1795	Unknown; in Marshfield, Mass.?
24	Seymour	? George Searle		Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
25	Short	? George Searle		Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
26	Gardiner	? George Searle		Mr. Newton C. Brainard, Hartford, Conn.
27	Fairfield	? Influence of George Searle		Unknown
28	Francis and Bulkley	? John Coles, Sr.		Mr. Newton C. Brainard, Hartford, Conn.

Fig.	*Arms*	*Painter*	*Date*	*Owner*
29	Gardner	? John Coles, Sr.		Mrs. Ralph S. Bryden, Brookline, Mass.
30	White	? John Coles, Jr.		N. E. Hist. Gen. Society, Boston, Mass.
31	Swan	Jeremiah Harding, after John Coles, Sr.		Mrs. Alfred E. Hammer, Branford, Conn.

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Appendix

The national flag of June 14, 1777, had thirteen stars and thirteen stripes to represent the thirteen original colonies; on May 1, 1795, Vermont and Kentucky having been admitted, the official design was changed to fifteen stars and fifteen stripes. The next change was on the fourth of July, 1818, when the present rule was established: that on the fourth of July following the admission of a new state a new star be added to the flag, but that the number of stripes be kept at thirteen. Thus the official flag of that date, there being then twenty states (Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, and Mississippi having been admitted), showed twenty stars and thirteen stripes.

Official Ruling

	Stars	*Stripes*	*Constitution ratified*		
1777 June 14	13	13	1. Delaware	1787	Dec. 7
			2. Pennsylvania		Dec. 12
			3. New Jersey		Dec. 18
			4. Georgia	1788	Jan. 2
			5. Connecticut		Jan. 9
			6. Massachusetts		Feb. 6
			7. Maryland		Apr. 28
			8. South Carolina		May 23
			9. New Hampshire		June 21
			10. Virginia		June 26
			11. New York		July 26
			12. North Carolina	1789	Nov. 21
			13. Rhode Island	1790	May 29

			Stars	*Stripes*	*Admitted to the Union*		
			13	13	14. Vermont	1791	Mar. 4
1795	May	1	15	15	15. Kentucky	1792	June 1
					16. Tennessee	1796	June 1
					17. Ohio	1803	Feb. 19
					18. Louisiana	1812	Apr. 30
					19. Indiana	1816	Dec. 11
1818	July	4	20	13	20. Mississippi	1817	Dec. 10
1819	July	4	21	13	21. Illinois	1818	Dec. 3
					22. Alabama	1819	Dec. 14
1820	July	4	23	13	23. Maine	1820	Mar. 15
1822	July	4	24	13	24. Missouri	1821	Aug. 10
1836	July	4	25	13	25. Arkansas	1836	June 15
1837	July	4	26	13	26. Michigan	1837	Jan. 26
1845	July	4	27	13	27. Florida	1845	Mar. 3
1846	July	4	28	13	28. Texas	1845	Dec. 29
1847	July	4	29	13	29. Iowa	1846	Dec. 28
1848	July	4	30	13	30. Wisconsin	1848	May 29
1851	July	4	31	13	31. California	1850	Sept. 9

Since 1851 takes us beyond the period of the paintings in question, there is no need of carrying the list further; but it may be stated that one new star was added on the fourth of July, 1858, 1859, 1861, 1863, 1865, 1867, 1877, respectively; five in 1890; one in 1891, 1897, 1908, and two in 1912, bringing the total to forty-eight as at present.

February Meeting, 1945

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 15, 1945, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on February 10, 1945, of JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, a Resident Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. CHARLES E. MASON, Jr., accepting election to Resident Membership, and letters from Mr. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL and Mr. RAYMOND PHINEAS STEARNS accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. RICHARD B. SCHLATTER read a paper entitled "The First American Novel; A Puritan Allegory of 1715."

April Meeting, 1945

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of His Excellency, Most Reverend RICHARD J. CUSHING, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, at the Archbishop's House, No. 2201 Commonwealth Avenue, Brighton, on Thursday, April 26, 1945, at ten minutes before nine o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the death on March 16, 1945, of EDMUND BURKE DELABARRE, a Corresponding Member, and the death on April 12, 1945, of the President of the United States, the Hon. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, an Honorary Member of the Society.

The President announced that Mr. HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, having fulfilled the ancestral qualifications, had been transferred by the Council from Associate Membership to Resident Membership in the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE and GEORGE NORTON NORTHROP.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. ALLSTON BURR and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON and ALLYN BAILEY FORBES.

The President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, read a paper entitled "The Literary Theory of the Puritans."

Annual Meeting
November, 1945

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Wednesday, November 28, 1945, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The President, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the death on June 5, 1945, of ARTHUR HOWLAND BUFFINGTON, a Resident Member; that on June 17, 1945, of MAX FARRAND, a Corresponding Member; that on October 12, 1945, of JAMES ATKINS NOYES, a Resident Member; and that on October 28, 1945, of EDWARD KENNARD RAND, an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mr. ERNEST STANLEY DODGE, of Danvers, was elected a Resident Member, Mr. HERBERT ROSS BROWN, of Brunswick, Maine, was elected a Corresponding Member, and Mr. OSCAR HANDLIN, of Cambridge, was elected an Associate Member of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE.

Report of the Council

SINCE the last Annual Meeting the Society has had its three customary stated meetings: those in December and February at the Club of Odd Volumes, that in April, by invitation of His Excellency, Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, at his residence, 2201 Commonwealth Avenue. The annual dinner is always a notable affair for everyone who attends it. The Council would like, however, to voice its regret that there are so many members of the Society who limit their participation in its activities to that one occasion.

Government restrictions on the use of paper, which have even extended to the Society's own supply purchased before the war, have necessitated the

suspension of all publishing activities since 1943. Those restrictions have now been lifted, and it is hoped that work on several contemplated volumes will go ahead speedily. These include, in addition to a new volume of *Transactions*, a volume of the correspondence of David Cobb now being prepared under the editorship of our fellow member, Mr. Allis; a fourth volume of Harvard College records, of which our fellow member, Mr. Walton, will be the editor; and the first of a proposed series of volumes containing the hitherto unprinted journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the period between the fall of the Andros régime and the year 1715, when the House for the first time printed its proceedings.

The Society has continued to be the chief supporter of the *New England Quarterly* and has now assumed the rôle of joint publisher. Funds have also been made available to enable our fellow member, Edmund S. Morgan, to prepare, with a view to subsequent publication, a transcript of the manuscript diary of Michael Wigglesworth. As a public gesture of another sort the Society has supplied the necessary funds for the badly needed repair of the Mather tomb in the Copp's Hill Burying Ground.

The following members have been elected during the past year:

Resident:

Charles Dyer Childs
Norman Lewis Dodge
Charles Ellis Mason, Jr.

Corresponding:

Ralph Henry Gabriel
Raymond Phineas Stearns

Honorary:

Samuel Williston

The Society has lost by death the following members:

Julius Herbert Tuttle, Resident, 1908, died February 10, 1945. For fifty-six years he was in charge of the treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society as Assistant Librarian, Acting Librarian, and Librarian. He spread the ancient records of Dedham on the printed page and lightened the labors of two generations of scholars.

Edmund Burke Delabarre, Corresponding, 1917, died March 16, 1945. Professor of Psychology in Brown University, author of many contributions on the inscribed rocks of Narragansett Bay; he knew more about Dighton Rock than any other man will ever know.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Honorary, 1934, died April 12, 1945. Impetuous, imperfect, impervious to fear; a pioneer of the breed of Sir Walter Raleigh, adventuring into strange regions sometimes rashly but always with undaunted hope; a leader whom during two great national dangers all followed gladly.

Arthur Howland Buffington, Resident, 1926, died June 5, 1945. Professor of History at Williams College, an earnest student of the seventeenth century in New England and the mind of the Puritan.

Max Farrand, Corresponding, 1932, died June 17, 1945. If there was ever a flawless historical work, it is his presentation of the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention where fifty-five Americans reasoned together and brought forth a more perfect Union.

James Atkins Noyes, Resident, 1901, died October 12, 1945. The patient compiler of successive Quinquennial Catalogues of Harvard University.

Edward Kennard Rand, Resident, 1913-1941, Honorary, 1941 until his death on October 28, 1945. Now that he can no longer pour out the wine of his full-blooded learning for our delight, let us dream that tonight he dines with Horace and Virgil, exchanging wit and wisdom in racy Latin. Above the turmoil of past Dark Ages and ours he saw the vision of the Eternal City. "Only in ideals is firmness found—never in the shifting world of things, events and material inventions."

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1945.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1945

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$13,223.97	
Loan to Principal	*9,883.22*	$3,340.75
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $128,319.61)	$126,081.30	
Stocks (Market Value $128,072.50)	91,402.62	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,118.11	220,602.03
Total Assets		$223,942.78

FUNDS

Funds	$207,717.70
Unexpended Income	16,225.08
TOTAL FUNDS	$223,942.78

INVESTMENTS AS OF NOVEMBER 14, 1945

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 American Tobacco Company Debenture 3's, 1962	$5,101.10
5,000 Celotex Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1960	5,125.00
1,294.07 Conveyancers Realty Company Debenture 4%—2% Fixed, 2% if Earned, 1957	284.70
5,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 3½'s, 1965	5,108.50
2,000 Florida Power and Light Company First 3½'s, Series A, 1974	2,175.00
5,000 Gatineau Power Company First 3¾'s, Series A, 1969	5,201.10
4,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	4,000.00
5,000 New York Water Service Corporation First 5's, 1951	5,038.60
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,168.75
3,000 Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad Company General 5's, 1974	3,945.00
5,000 Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series A, 1973	5,400.00
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,068.75
5,000 Tennessee Gas and Transmission Company First 3's, 1965	5,126.10
8,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	6,880.00
2,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,720.00
5,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	4,250.00

5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	4,250.00
10,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	7,760.00
8,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	6,208.00
5,000	United States of America War Savings Bonds, Series F, May 1, 1954	3,835.00
10,000	United States of America War Savings Bonds, Series F, June 1, 1957	7,400.00
8,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds 2's, 1951/1953	8,000.00
5,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds 2's, 1952/1954	5,000.00
10,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds 2¼'s, 1959/1962	10,000.00
4,000	Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1958	4,035.70
TOTAL BONDS		$126,081.30

STOCKS		*Book Value*
75 shares	American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$12,599.76
3 shares	Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00
2 5/10 shares	Conveyancers Realty Company V.T.C. Class A, Common	3.13
100 shares	First National Bank of Boston	4,595.27
200 shares	General Electric Company	4,766.26
15 shares	Guaranty Trust Company of New York	5,232.77
100 shares	Insurance Company of North America	6,610.27
500 shares	Lehman Corporation	19,805.03
40 shares	Radio Corporation of America, Common	0.
400 shares	State Street Investment Corporation	13,489.00
50 shares	United Fruit Company	4,388.53
100 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Prior Preferred Participating	6,000.00
100 shares	United States Cold Storage Corporation Common	
200 shares	Westinghouse Electric Corporation	5,617.60
TOTAL STOCKS		$91,402.62
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings		3,118.11
TOTAL INVESTMENTS		$220,602.03

Composition of Funds, November 14, 1945

Sarah Louisa Edes Fund, established under the will of Henry H. Edes. One half of the gross income to be added semi-annually to the principal of the fund; the remaining half of the income of the fund shall be used towards defraying the cost of the Society's Publications other than the Transactions with certain qualifications as to the methods of publication	$61,882.97
Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income to be used for Publications	10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	18,035.95
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the maximum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	8,298.78
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00

George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restrictions as to use	10,000.00
Commutation Fund, established by crediting all commutations received from 1893 to date. Income to be used for Current Expense	8,500.00
Samuel Henshaw Fund, established in 1942 under his will without restriction as to use	5,000.00
TOTAL FUNDS	$207,717.70

CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL OF FUNDS

Total Funds, November 14, 1944			$206,194.89
Add—Additions to Special Funds:			
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund:			
Apportioned Balance of Trustee's Income	$729.42		
Balance of Trustee's Principal	529.03		
Gains on Sales of Securities Sold by Trustee	248.14	$1,506.59	
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	$351.56		
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund Income	1,009.81	1,361.37	
Add—Additions to General Fund:			
Admission Fees	30.00		
Profit from Sale of Securities:			
$2,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	134.69		
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 4's, 1964	100.00		
5,000 Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	495.51		
5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	124.13		
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	712.50		
9,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 2¾'s, 1956/1959	172.00		
1,000 Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1958	6.08		
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	360.11		

40 shares General Electric Company	603.53		
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	389.60	3,098.15	5,996.11
			$212,191.00
Deduct—Charges to Special Funds:			
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund:			
Miscellaneous expenses in connection with settlement thereof	$3,900.55		
Losses on Sale of Securities	306.02		
Audit Fee	125.00	$4,331.57	
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:			
Loss from Sale of Securities:			
$5,000 Consolidated Oil Corporation Debenture 3½'s, 1951	$69.92		
5,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 4's, 1956	9.55		
3,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 3's, 1946/1948	60.50		
3,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 2½'s, 1949/1953	2.06	141.73	4,473.30
TOTAL FUNDS, NOVEMBER 14, 1945			$207,717.70

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 14, 1944		$10,325.86
RECEIPTS:		
Interest	$3,127.41	
Dividends	5,852.50	
Annual Assessments	740.00	
Income from Sarah Louisa Edes Fund received from State Street Trust Company, Trustee	257.33	
Sale of Society's Publications	55.00	
Return on Insurance Premium	18.00	10,050.24
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		$20,376.10
DISBURSEMENTS:		
New England Quarterly	$2,600.00	
Editor's Salary	1,000.00	
Secretarial Expense	650.00	
Annual Dinner	382.26	
Storage	300.76	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	181.75	

Increase Mather Tomb	188.00	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	251.22	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Publications	87.77	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Added to Principal	351.56	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund Added to Principal	1,009.81	
Total Disbursements of Income		7,152.13
Balance of Income, November 14, 1945		$13,223.97

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1944		*$6,453.47*
RECEIPTS:		
Principal Cash of Sarah Louisa Edes Fund received from State Street Trust Company, Trustee	$23,336.28	
$2,000 Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, 1952	2,040.00	
5,000 Community Public Service Company First 3½'s, 1964	5,327.50	
5,000 Consolidated Oil Corporation Debenture 3½'s, 1951	5,100.00	
5,000 Continental Gas and Electric Corporation Debenture 5's, Series A, 1958	5,158.79	
5,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 4's, 1956	5,075.00	
5,000 Montana Power Company First and Refunding 3¾'s, 1966	5,250.00	
5,000 Texas Electric Service Company First 5's, 1960	5,150.00	
3,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 3's, 1946/1948	3,067.94	
3,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 2½'s, 1949/1953	3,207.94	
9,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds 2¼'s, 1959/1962	10,198.56	
1,000 Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1958	1,015.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,904.92	
40 shares General Electric Company	1,556.77	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	30.00	

Transferred from Income to Principal		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund	351.56	
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund	1,009.81	
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF PRINCIPAL		81,304.67
		$74,851.20
DISBURSEMENTS:		
$3,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 4's, March 1, 1956	$3,064.55	
10,000 United States of America Savings Bonds, Series F, June 1, 1957	7,400.00	
5,000 Celotex Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, August 1, 1960	5,125.00	
5,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 3½'s, July 1, 1965	5,108.50	
5,000 Gatineau Power Company First 3¾'s, Series A, April 1, 1969	5,201.10	
5,000 New York Water Service Corporation First 5's, November 1, 1951	5,038.60	
5,000 Tennessee Gas and Transmission Company First 3's, May 1, 1965	5,126.10	
5,000 American Tobacco Company Debenture 3's, April 15, 1962	5,101.10	
10,000 United States of America Treasury Bonds, 2¼'s, 1959/1962	10,000.00	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	2,845.27	
10 shares Guaranty Trust Company of New York	3,565.27	
25 shares Insurance Company of North America	2,540.27	
25 shares United Fruit Company	2,213.53	
20 shares Westinghouse Electric Corporation	2,475.10	
500 shares Lehman Corporation	19,805.03	
Auditing Fee Charged to Sarah Louisa Edes Fund Principal	125.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF PRINCIPAL		84,734.42
LOAN TO PRINCIPAL, NOVEMBER 14, 1945		*$9,883.22*

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1945, have attended to their

duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

ALLSTON BURR
HERMANN F. CLARKE
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED
Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD
Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT
Recording Secretary AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.
Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.
Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL
Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON
Member of the Council for Three Years ROBERT EARL MOODY

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. Mr. David McCord was the guest of the Society, and Mr. HENRY JOEL CADBURY said grace.

Owing to illness, the announced speaker of the evening, President JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, of Williams College, was unable to be present. The retiring President, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, and the newly elected President, CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, spoke briefly, and Mr. HOWARD MUMFORD JONES addressed the Society. Mr. DAVID MCCORD read several of his poems.

December Meeting, 1945

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 20, 1945, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. ERNEST STANLEY DODGE, of Danvers, accepting Resident Membership, of a letter from Mr. HERBERT ROSS BROWN, of Brunswick, Maine, accepting Corresponding Membership, and a letter from Mr. OSCAR HANDLIN, of Cambridge, accepting Associate Membership in the Society.

Mr. ELLIS WETHRELL BREWSTER, of Plymouth, Mr. RICHARD WALDEN HALE, Jr., of Needham, and Mr. RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON, of Salem, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. CHARLES E. MASON, Jr., read a paper entitled "Boston Lithography and Lithographers."

February Meeting, 1946

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 28, 1946, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. ELLIS WETHRELL BREWSTER, Mr. RICHARD WALDEN HALE, Jr., and Mr. RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON accepting their election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. RICHARD WALDEN HALE, Jr., read the following paper:

The First Independent School in America

PERHAPS the best way to begin this paper may be to say what it is not. It is not a discussion of "firsts" in the history of colonial education. Such a discussion inevitably leads to more heat than light, as the editors of the *Stars and Stripes* found, when they tried to run stories about the first American soldier to do some particular thing. No matter how carefully they checked their facts, somebody always wrote in to dispute their statements, and each story only caused profitless argument and hurt pride. If this happened when the statements at issue could be vouched for by living eye-witnesses, what hope is there of setting definitive dates for the foundation of schools three centuries ago? For example, there is no indisputable answer to the question whether the Boston Latin School, which was certainly founded in 1635, is or is not older than the Collegiate School in New York and the Syms School in Hampton, Virginia. Probably Adam Roelantsen, the first master of the Collegiate School, did not teach in New Amsterdam until after he had secured his license to do so, from Holland, in 1637. But he was in New Amsterdam in 1633, and there is no complete proof he did not teach between then and 1637. As for the Syms School, it was founded by a clause in Benjamin Syms's will, which was probated in 1633/4, but there is no record of teaching being done there until 1643. With five years' leeway in one case, ten in the other,

there can be no certainty. Presumably one can say that the Syms School is the oldest in the country, Boston Latin next, but this statement will not be universally accepted, especially when local pride is at stake.

Similarly, though it can be confidently stated that almost all schools in New England became public schools, in the modern sense of the word, shortly after they had been founded, it is, practically speaking, impossible to say which was the first public school. This may serve to show why there will be no attempt to assign a date to "the first independent school," except to make clear one point, the relationship between the Roxbury Latin School and the Collegiate School in New York. The Collegiate School is the older, as a school. It was founded, in 1633, 1637, or 1638, as one chooses to look at the question. Roxbury Latin was founded according to its own computation in 1645, though it could stretch a point and lay claim to the dates 1643 and 1644. But the Collegiate School was a public school, in the present sense of the word, until 1674, whereas Roxbury Latin was from the start what Mr. Porter Sargent calls an "independent school."

The purpose of this paper is, rather, to explain something which has not always been brought out, that the early schools of New England were not exclusively either public schools under town or colony management or private schools run for the profit of the teacher. Roxbury Latin was in neither category, and my investigations in writing its *Tercentenary History* have shown that it was not unique. I have come across at least five other such schools—the Ipswich Grammar School, the three Hopkins Grammar Schools in New Haven, Hartford, and Hadley, and the Elliot School of Jamaica Plain—which were also independent corporate bodies of one sort or another. Probably research could turn up more. What I hope to do is to show how Roxbury Latin, the first of the seventeenth-century independent schools, was if not the model at least a prototype of a group of educational institutions which played an important part in keeping up the standards of American education in the early days.

Please notice that these six schools have been called independent and not either endowed or free. For the respect in which they differed from the average New England town school was not in endowment—almost all the early schools either public or independent were endowed; and not in being free of tuition charges—almost all early schools of any type charged some sort of tuition; but in being free alike from political control and from dependence on the purses of parents. Before 1647 and the compulsory school law of that year, and indeed for several years afterwards, the average New England school might be described as a subsidy to persuade a

schoolmaster to stay in a town that needed him but whose residents could not afford the fees he normally would charge. This is a solution of the fee problem not unknown in more recent times in Western Canada, where in the 1930's, according to the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, a similar payment system was in effect to meet a similar situation. There local authorities paid a doctor a basic salary, or gave him a house, or in some other way subsidized him, in return for which he agreed to charge low fees to the people of that region. But that analogy is not complete. The subsidies New England gave her teachers usually did not come out of town treasuries, as did the Canadian ones here mentioned. There was a prejudice, which lasted until the 1660's, against using local taxes for such purposes. Instead pieces of land were rented for what they would bring in, and the proceeds turned over to the schoolmaster. The rents of Thompson's Island were thus used in Dorchester, those of Spectacle and Noddle's Islands in Boston, and the feoffees of the Dedham School also drew their funds from "lands and rents." Therefore what made Roxbury Latin unique when it was founded was not that it drew its funds from land, and not that although called a "Free School" its benefits were restricted to those who "had the priveledg of the school," but that its governing body of seven feoffees was independent of the town of Roxbury.

Just when the idea of an independent managing body took root it is hard to say. The first mention of Roxbury Latin in any records is in Samuel Hagburne's will of 1643, in which he left a perpetual annual subscription of ten shillings to the Free School, to be paid whenever it should be founded. This does not show whether the proposal was then for an independent school or a town school. Nor does Laurence Whittamore's codicil of 1644, which gave land to Roxbury Latin, give any information. But the agreement of 1645 is perfectly explicit. It not only contains sixty-four pledges of perpetual annual subscriptions to create an endowment but further sets up seven feoffees who really form a body corporate and who are to collect the income of the school and to receive future gifts. To be perfectly accurate, what is today in existence is a copy or redraft of the agreement of 1645, which was made on August 31 of that year, because the original had been blown up in a gunpowder explosion on April 6, 1645, shortly after it had been signed. It is this copy which is now preserved by the lineal descendants of these seven feoffees, the Roxbury Latin trustees, and which may be considered the oldest school charter in America. The importance of this agreement of 1645, it seems to me, is that it explicitly creates a type of governing body until then not known among American schools, a governing body utterly independent of politi-

cal control, since it was not answerable to the town authorities of Roxbury, and yet one not engaged in teaching for profit.

Of course it is doubtful whether the citizens of Roxbury had any legal right, as English law then stood, to create a corporate body by themselves, or to ask the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Company to do it for them, though it might be argued that they could create a trust. Apparently the feoffees of the newly founded school shared this doubt, for not until 1669 did they do as the Agreement of 1645 had said they should, and go to the General Court to secure confirmation of their charter and, in 1715, in a later petition to the General Court, they spoke of themselves as "feoffees in trust." But, however serious this legal point may have been then, it no longer has bearing. Colonial charters of this sort have by now successfully stood the test of time, no matter how technically illegal they may once have been. The charter which in 1650 the Massachusetts General Court issued to Harvard may have been under fire in the early 1700's, but it is still in effect. Just recently, when doubt was expressed whether the two hundred and fifty year old Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven had any legal existence, its trustees secured recognition as a corporation by prescription. Therefore, whatever were the legal difficulties of the past, it is safe to say today that the agreement of 1645 is the oldest school charter in the United States.

The question naturally rises, who in Roxbury caused the taking of this new step in American educational policy. Two men probably did. One was Thomas Dudley, that year Governor of Massachusetts. He was the first to sign the agreement of 1645. Five years later, when he was again Governor of Massachusetts, he signed Harvard's charter. Clearly he was interested in education, as he might well be, being himself the graduate of a Latin school. He had the business and legal knowledge necessary for the drawing up of the agreement, since he had been the business manager of the Earl of Lincoln's estate, had caused Massachusetts to introduce the recording of land titles, and added to the agreement a clause making the collection of the annual subscription more certain. But though Thomas Dudley may have drafted the terms of the charter, it was probably Roxbury's pastor and teacher, the Reverend John Eliot, who gave it its spirit. He himself later founded yet another independent school, and when Roxbury Latin's independence was attacked he struggled manfully to preserve it.

It would be pleasant to be able to assert that all the rest of the seventeenth-century independent schools in America were copies of Roxbury Latin. That would round out this argument neatly, and allow saying that

John Eliot was the founder of independent non-profit secondary education in the United States. But there is little on which such a claim could be based, and it is far more likely that when those schools were founded the idea of making them independent of town governments had nothing to do with Roxbury Latin. It really cannot be said that just because Thomas Dudley lived in Ipswich before 1640—when it is true an attempt was made to found a grammar school—he influenced something that happened in 1651, when Robert Payne turned over to seven feoffees certain lands, which they the next day leased for one thousand years to the Coggswell family. Nor can much connection be found between Edward Hopkins of New Haven and his bequest of property in 1664 and events in Roxbury in 1645. Only in the case of the Elliot School is there any question of copying, since John Eliot founded both schools. But though Roxbury Latin was not a model for these others, it shared and exemplified their characteristics. What happened to it sooner or later happened to them, too, and its history therefore sums up their history.

It seems to have been a law of the being of these seventeenth-century independent schools that they should sooner or later find their independence threatened by town authorities, who always wanted to control funds which to their minds were being used for town purposes. Regularly the town fathers of New Haven invited their Hopkins Grammar School to turn its funds over to them, which indeed yielded and did so at least once, if not more often. At Hadley the town took over the Grammar School in 1673, and then repeated the performance in 1908. At Hartford the Hopkins Grammar School has finally been absorbed into the city school system, and now helps provide for Latin teaching in the city's high schools. As for the Ipswich feoffees, they have had unusually stormy relations with their town. Having in 1714 allowed the analogous sum to Philip of Macedon's mule-load of gold—in their case £10—to pass through their gates as a town subsidy, in 1721 they found their school taken away from them, and run by the selectmen, who pocketed their endowment. The disgruntled feoffees retired from the field, until the last survivor of them, practically on his death-bed, in 1750 filled up the vacancies in their membership. This new board fought so hard to get back control of the school that a compromise was reached. It was agreed that for a limited period the three selectmen of Ipswich should be the ex-officio feoffees. This temporary compromise has become permanent, and to this day the feoffees of the Ipswich Grammar School consist of four life members and three selectmen. However, since 1836 they have not managed a school of their own but have paid their income over to the Ipswich School Com-

mittee. Thus in having had at one time or another to fight for its life Roxbury Latin has not differed from the other seventeenth-century independent schools.

It was in the 1660's that this struggle between town and school began in Roxbury. The first symptom was unrest in the school corporation itself, an unrest culminating in the resignation of the entire board of feoffees, after which only two were re-elected. The next symptom was the way in which seemingly innocent proposals in town meeting led to bitter dissensions. Questions of rights of way over or to school land, of building a watchhouse near the schoolhouse, of granting land next the schoolhouse lot, all led up somehow to one question—asked apparently with some asperity—"If Roxbury Latin is a free school, why must I pay for my child's tuition." These were not the words—Roxbury Latin as the school's name is comparatively recent—they were the sense. All over New England such questions were being asked in town meeting, as town school after town school stopped charging fees and became a true free school. At Roxbury the strain may have been accentuated by an increase in the demands made by the schoolmaster. In the 1650's Daniel Weld had drawn comparatively large sums for the board and lodging of Indian scholars, and may have therefore been somewhat lenient as to the fees he charged. But his Indians died of consumption, and when he asked for replacements, they were not sent him. Finally Daniel Weld died, in 1666, and the trouble came to a head. The management of the school was attacked, there even being a party which "desired the removal of the school," to quote the old records.

Here Roxbury Latin was fortunate in securing the aid of John Eliot, who was quickly elected a feoffee. He started making peace in a most effective way—he pegged away at raising the school's endowment. Gifts of three acres here, four there, a salt marsh from a delinquent subscriber, ten shillings a year extra from Thomas Bell in London, all eased the financial pressure. A petition to the General Court started, at long last, the process of giving legal force to the agreement of 1645, which matter seems to have been gone into very thoroughly. After a puzzled committee of investigation had visited Roxbury, had secured an extension of time to allow the gathering of more evidence, and had, to judge from its report, heard some very forceful pros and cons, it proposed an important step in Roxbury Latin's development. It suggested that the school be made a free school for all in the town, when the agreement should be legalized. This brought Roxbury into line with the average town school, by ending the restriction of the "priveledg of the school" to a special group. But in the

process of passing this Act of 1670 through the General Court a proviso was added—that Roxbury Latin continue permanently to be what it had been hitherto, a Latin school. Thus it was that when the Act was finally passed, the town of Roxbury woke up and discovered that it had a town school to be sure, but one which was entirely free from the control of the town authorities, and which was forced by law to have a high grade of teaching, whether or not the town wanted that much done for education.

Then, a little later, Roxbury discovered that John Eliot had succeeded in diverting the rents of Thomas Bell's farm, which had supported the poor of the town, to the benefit of Roxbury Latin. That roused a further flurry, which was only settled by passing two more acts, both in 1674. With all this in mind, it does seem that when Cotton Mather wrote of John Eliot, "God so blessed his endeavours that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town," he had his tongue in his cheek. He knew how little quiet Roxbury had seen.

But by doing all this John Eliot made Roxbury Latin a school which in its day did for secondary education what today certain private colleges do for public university education. Roxbury Latin did not reserve itself for a special clientele. It took exactly those whom the town schools taught and then taught them better than the town schools did. Thus it led the way in performing a valuable service in American education.

For the groups of schools which have been here called the seventeenth-century independent schools almost all shared two other characteristics besides this perhaps truculent independence of outside authority. All except the Elliot School were Latin schools—that is, stood for quality in teaching—and all without exception kept in line with the trend of their times in reducing or giving up the charging of fees. They used their independence to set standards, and thus by example and the force of competition formed a defense against lowering the quality of education. Furthermore, they all met the town schools on their own ground, and took their students from the same sources. Therein these seventeenth-century independent schools differed greatly from the private schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which have had from the nature of their existence a limited clientele, and resembled those private colleges which have by low fees or a broad endowment policy attracted the same groups as go to state universities, and have tried to teach them better.

It would take too long to give all the details of the stand the seventeenth-century independent schools made in their day for quality in education. Suffice it to refer to Professor Morison's *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, and to point out that two of the four leading schools in preparing

for Harvard were the Ipswich Grammar School and the Roxbury Latin School, and that these two had a smaller local population from which to draw students than had the other two leaders, Boston Latin and Cambridge Latin. Furthermore, it was the Ipswich Grammar School that brought to Massachusetts the great schoolmaster Ezekiel Cheever; and it was Roxbury Latin that earned from Cotton Mather the title *schola illustris* for its pre-eminence in teaching. But perhaps enough has been said here to suggest why it is of importance to consider Roxbury Latin the first independent school in America. Not only does that give a pleasant claim to fame for the credit due to age; it also gives a most honorable claim to fame for the credit due for bringing high quality education to all. It is because Roxbury Latin can lay claim to have been the first of a group of schools that had as their policy a determination to bring the best of schooling to those who deserved it that its foundation may be considered a landmark in our colonial history.

During the compilation of the *Tercentenary History of the Roxbury School, 1645–1945*, it became evident that colonial source material on independent secondary schools was either unprinted or so scattered as to be as unavailable as if it were unprinted. When this was brought to the attention of the late Allyn B. Forbes, then the editor of the Colonial Society's *Publications*, he suggested that the Society publish as an appendix to the paper here presented a selection from the documents that had been collected.

What are to be found here are the key documents in the history of two such independent schools—the Roxbury Latin School and the Ipswich Grammar School—from their foundation to the dates at which they were re-incorporated, respectively 1789 and 1756. As much has been printed as has seemed possible. Whatever has been omitted has been 1.) elections of feoffees or masters, 2.) lists of expenditures that seem to throw no new light on the period, 3.) metes and bounds in deeds or legal documents and repetitive legal formulas, including repetition of petitions in preambles of colonial legislation. On the other hand short excerpts from such available sources as the diaries of John Winthrop and Samuel Sewall have been included, in order that as complete as possible an account might be given of these two schools.

Special mention should be made of the kindness of the Ipswich Grammar School feoffees in allowing a photostat to be made of their School Book. Although the package in which it is kept in the Ipswich Savings Bank bears this endorsement—"Not to be opened even by Angels"—they allowed this precious document to be copied to enable a check to be made on the transcript now in the Town Clerk's office, and have thus made

available to general research the second oldest private school record in America, the Roxbury Latin School Book being the oldest.

The following list of abbreviations used should serve to show what sources have been brought together here.

Account Book	The Account Book of the Roxbury Latin School, 1774–1851, *MS.*, which contains entries of feoffee's meetings, 1774–1788.
ACUC	"Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, 1653–1679," *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England,* David Pulsifer, Editor, x (Boston, 1859).
Dillaway	C. K. Dillaway, *A History of the Grammar School, or, "The Free Schoole of 1645 in Roxburie"* (Roxbury, 1860), which is chiefly a reprinting of Dr. Rufus Wyman's abstract of the Roxbury Latin School trustees' records, prepared in 1842.
Ellis	Charles M. Ellis, *The History of Roxbury Town* (Boston, 1847).
Hale	Richard Walden Hale, Jr., *Tercentenary History of the Roxbury Latin School, 1645–1945* (Cambridge, 1946).
HJ	*Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts: 1715–1748* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1919-1949).
ISB	Ipswich Grammar School Book, *MS.* Original at the Ipswich Savings Bank; transcript at Town Clerk's office, Ipswich.
Mass. Archives	The Massachusetts Archives, in custody of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, room 438, State House, Boston.
Mass. Bay Records	*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay,* N. B. Shurtleff, Editor (Boston, 1853–1854).
OSB	The Old School Book of Roxbury Latin, *MS.* Original and photostat at Roxbury Latin School.
Parker	Richard Green Parker, *A Sketch of the History of the Grammar School in the Easterly Part of Roxbury* (Roxbury, 1826).
RCR	"Roxbury Church Records," *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports,* VI. 73–212.

RLR	"Roxbury Land Records," *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, VI. 1–70.
RTR	Roxbury Town Records, *MS.* Original at City Hall, Boston; microfilm at Boston Public Library.
Sup. Court Files	Files of the Superior Court of Judicature, in custody of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, room 1400, Suffolk County Court House, Boston.
Winthrop	*Winthrop's Journal "History of New England,"* J. K. Hosmer, Editor (New York, 1908).

When two or more sources are given, the first is that which has been copied. No significant variations were found, though differences in wording but not meaning were frequent. Whenever possible, hitherto unprinted versions have been followed, to allow study of these variations.

Documents of the Hopkins Grammar Schools have been published by the Hopkins Trustees and in Thomas R. Davis's *Chronicles of the Hopkins Grammar School.*

Roxbury Latin School Documents

1643

. . . Further, out of my greate desire to promote learning for God's honor and the good of his Church my will is that when Roxbury shall set up a free schoole in the towne, there shalbe ten shillings per annum out of the house and home lot paid unto it forever . . .

Will of Samuel Hagburne, made January 19, 1642/3, deposed March 8, 1642/3; witnessed by William Parkes, Joseph Weld, Joshua Hewes, John Johnson.

Suffolk Wills, I. 23 [of original], 20 [of 1892 copy]. Dillaway, 194 [in part].

1644

Month 9, day 18. Laurence Whittamore,[1] an ancient Christian of 80 years of aige died.

RCR, 172.

1645

July 3. Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) . . .

Winthrop, II. 224.

[1] The will of Laurence Whittamore is not among Suffolk Wills, but reference to his property is made in an act of the General Court of 1670, reprinted in these documents under that year.

April 6. Two great fires happened this week, one at Salem . . . the other was at Roxbury[2] this day.

Winthrop, II. 220.

Whereas the Inhabitantes of Roxburie out of their relligious care of posteritie have taken into consideration how necessarie the education of theire children in Literature wilbe, to fitt them for publicke service both in Church and Commonwealth in succeeding ages; They therefore unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a Free schoole in the said Towne of Roxburie; and to allowe twenty pounds per Annum to the Schoolemaster, to bee raised out of the Messuages and part of the Lands of the severall Donors (Inhabitants of the said Towne) in severall proportions as hereafter followeth expressed under theire hands. And for the well ordering thereof they have chosen and elected seven Feoffees, who shall have power to putt in or remoove the SchooleMaster, to see to the well ordering of the Schoole and Schollers, to receive and pay the said twenty poundes per annum to the SchooleMaster, and to dispose of any other gift or giftes which hereafter may or shalbe given, for the advancement of Learning and education of children. And if it happen that any one or more of the said Feoffees to dye, or by removall out of the Towne or Excommunication to be displaced, the said Donors hereafter expressed doe hereby covenant for themselves and for their heires, will in the space of one Month after such death or removall / removall of any one or more o[f the] Feoffees, to elect and choose others in their room [in order tha]t the Number may be complete. And if the said Donors or the greater parte of them doe neglect to make an election within the tyme forelimited, then shall the Surviving Feoffees or the greater part of them elect new Feoffees in the roome or roomes of such as are dead or removed (as before) to fulfill the number of seven. and then their election shalbe of equal validity and force as if it had beene made by all or the greater number of the said Donors.

IN consideration of the premisses and that due provision may not be wanting for the maintenance of the SchooleMaster for ever, the Donors hereafter expressed for the severall proportions or Annuities by them voluntarily undertaken and underwritten

HAVE given and granted, and by these presentes doe for themselves their heires and Assignes respectively, hereby give and grant unto the present Feoffees, vizt. Joseph Weld, John Johnson, John Roberts, Joshua Hewes, Isaac Morrell, Thomas Lambe

and theire Successors chosen as is aforesaid, the severall rents or summes hereafter expressed under their handes issueinge and goeinge forth of their severall / severall M[essuages] lands and tenements in Roxbury hereafter expressed, TO HAVE and to hould, perceive and enjoy the said Annual rents or summes, to the only use of the said Free Schoole in Roxbury, yearely payable at or upon the

[2] For the Reverend John Eliot's account of this fire, which destroyed the original records of the Roxbury Latin School, see RCR, 188.

last of the first Monthe and the last of September by even portions, the first payment to begin the last of September in this present yeare. And the said Donors for themselves theire Heires and Assignes doe covenant and grant to and with the Feoffees and theire Successors, that if the said annuall rent or any part thereof be arriere and unpayd the space of twenty days next after the dayes appointed for payment, that then and from thence forth it shalbe lawfull for and to the said Feoffees and theire Successors into the said Messuages Lands and premisses of the partie or parties makeing default, to enter and distreine, and the said distresses then / then and there found, to leade, drive and carry away, and the same to prize and sell for the paymente of the said rents, returning the overplus unto the Owners or proprietors of the said houses and Lands. And further the said Donors doe for themselves their heires and Assignes covenant and grant to and with the Feoffees aforesaid, and theire Successors, that if no sufficient distresse or distresses can be had or taken in the premisses according to the true intent and meaninge of this present deed, or if it shall happen any rescous or [illegible] to be made, or replevie or replevine to be sued or obtained of, or for, or by reason of any distresse or distressed to bee taken by virtue of these presents, as is aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth it shall and may be lawfull for the said Feoffees and theire Successor into the said Messuages Lands and premisses to enter, and the same and every part thereof to HAVE use and enjoy to the use of the Schoole, and the rents issues and profitts thereof to receive and take, and the same to detain and keepe to the use and behoofe of the Schoole as is aforesaid, without any account makeing thereof unto the said Donors theire heirs or Assignees, and to use and occupie the said houses lands and premisses to the use aforesaid, untill such time as the said annuall rents or summes and every part or parcell thereof, with all arrierages and Damages for Non-payment be fully satisfyed and payd unto the said Feoffees theire Successors or Assignes by the said Donors their heires or Assignes or any of them: Of which said rents or summes the said Donors every and singular of them have putt the said Feoffees in full possession and seizin at the Delivery thereof. And for the further satisfaction hereof the said Donors become Suitors to the honoured Generall Court for the establishment thereof by theire Authority and power. Always provided that none of the Inhabitants of the said towne of Roxbury, that shall not joyne / by subscribinge their names and summes / in this Act with the rest of the Donors, shall have any further benefitt thereby, than other strangers shall have, who are no Inhabitants. And lastly it is granted by the said Donors, that the Feoffees and theire Successours shall from time to time be accountable unto the Court of Assistants / and the Donors / for the trust committed to them, when at any time they shalbe he thereunto called and required. In witness whereof the Donors aforesaid have herunto subscribed their names and summes given yearly the Last day of August in the year of our Lord 1645.

OSB, 3–5. Dillaway, 8–9. Parker, 25–26.

[*In addition to the subscriptions as made in 1645, lists of donors in 1669 and 1700 are printed in parallel columns in order to indicate what families actually paid.*]

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*List of Donors and Estates*, ca. *1700*
Mr T(homas Du)dley for the house he d(wells in.) 01–04–00	Mr. Parmiter	His excellency the gov. 00 12 00
C(aptain) Gookin for the house he dwells in 01–00–00	Mr. Danforth	
When Captain Gookin leases the house he dwells in then the following inhabitants who shall possess the Lott adjoining thereto are to pay ten shilling yearly and the possessors of the nook of land Late Samuel Hagburne's are to pay the other ten shilling yearly THOMAS DUDLEY		
Mr. Thomas Welde for his dwelling house 1–4–0	Mr. Thomas Weld	Mr. Thomas Weld (now Edmond) 12 00
Although the name of Mr. Tho: Weld our reverend pastor be not sett down, only Mr. Eliot hath subscribed to Mr. Weld's gift and his own, the reason is because Mr. Weld being in England gave orders and power to Mr. Eliot so to do and his son who doth inherit his lands in Roxbury doth say that he is fully satisfied in it, because Mr. Eliot did show him his Father's letters, wherein he gave him power to do so. To these expressions of Mr. Tho. Weld the son of our reverend Pastor, we testifie by our hands. WILLIAM PARKS JOHN BOWLES.		
Mr. John Eliot for his dwelling house 1–4–0 JOHN. ELIOT	Mr. Eliot Sen:	Mr. John Eliot now 12 00
Captain Joseph Weld for his house 1–4–0 JOSEPH WELD		Capn. Joseph Weld (now Brumfield) 12 00

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*List of Donors and Estates*, ca. *1700*
Mr. Hugh Prichard for his house 1–4–0 HUGH PRICHARD	Mr. John Pierpoint	Hugh Prichard (now Pierpoynt) 12 00
Mr. Joshua Hewes for his ~~dwelling house~~ Lott att the pond by Captain Weld being 18 acres: in all land 00–16–00 JOSHUA HEWES	John Pollay	Joshua Hewes (now Polly) 8 00
Mr. John Gore for his dwelling house 00–16–00 JOHN GORE	Mr. Remington	John Gore 8 00
John Johnson for his dwelling house 00–13–00 JOHN JOHNSON	John Bowls	John Johnson (now Bowles) 6 06
Thomas Bell for his dw(elling house) 01?–12–00 THOS: BELL	Edward Morrice	
Mr. Bell at the request of Mr. Eliot hath given power to D( ) and to Mr. Eliot to make the sum of his donation upon his farm the sum of twenty shi(llings wi)tness his letters dated the 22d of the third month 1669. This is twenty shillings per annum We the feoffees saw this letter and by our names testify the sum he giveth 20 the annum. JOHN ELIOT WILLIAM PARKS THOMAS WELD JOHN BOWLES ROBERT WILLIAMS GILES PAYSON		
William Park for his dwelling house 00–13–00 WILLIAM PARK	William Parks	William Park now Smith 6 06
Isaac Morrill for his dwelling house 00–12–00 ISAAC MORRELL	Widow Morral	Isaac Morell now Stevens 6 00
Isaac Heath for his dwelling house 00–11–00 ISAAC HEATH	Goodman Hally	Isaac Heath now Bowles 5 06

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*List of Donors and Estates*, ca. *1700*
Thomas Lamb for his dwelling house 00–10–00 THOMAS LAMB		Thomas Lamb now Aspinwall 5 00
William Denison for his dwelling house 00–8–00 WILLIAM DENISON	widow: Denison	William Denison 4 00
Phillip Elliott for his dwelling house 00–8–00 JOHN ELIOT)) Witnesseth	Thomas Forster Hue Clarke Mose Chraft	
John Roberts for his dwelling house 00–8–00 JOHN ROBERTS		John Roberts now Sumner 4 00
George Holmes for his dwelling house 00–8–00 ROBERT WILLIAMS) GILES PAYSON) Wittness		
Wm. Cheney for his dwelling house 00–8–00 the mark of x William Cheney	Thomas Cheney	William Cheney now Thomas 4 00
John Watson for his house 0–8–0 the mark of John T Watson	John Watson sen:	John Watson, now Brumfield 4 00
Samuel Finch for his dwelling house 00–6–8	Samuell Finch	
John Wattson for his lot at the Pond 00:04:00 John Wattson his T Mark		John Watson, now Stodman 2 00
Daniell Brewer for his dwelling house 00..5..00 the mark of Daniell 8 B Brewer	Widow Brewer ~~Daniell~~	Danl. Brewer, now Daniel Brewer 2 06
Isaac Johnson for his dwelling house 00..4..00 ISAAC JOHNSON	Shubal Seavor	Isaac Johnson, now Seaver 2 00
James Astwood for his dwelling house 00..4..00 JAMES ASTWOOD	John. Curtice	James Astwood, alias Yungman, now Stoddard 2 00

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*List of Donors and Estates*, ca. *1700*
John Bowles for his dwelling house 00..4..00 JOHN BOWLES	William Gary	John Bowles, now Gary 2 00
Griffin Crafts for his dwelling house 00 4 00 GRIFFIN CRAFTS	John Ruggles	Griffing Crafts, now Ruggles Secundus 2 00
John Levinz ———— 00..3..4 JOHN ELIOT)) Witt.	Mr. Meads	
Edward Porter for his dwelling house 00..2..6 EDWARD PORTER		Edward Porter, now Macarty 01 03
Christopher Peak for his dwelling house 00..2..6 CHRISTOPHER PEAK	Widdow: Peak	Christor. Peak now Dor 01 03
James Morgan for his dwelling house 00..2..6 the mark of / James Morgan		Samuel Morgan was here
Richard Peacock for his dwelling house 00..2..00 RICHARD PEACOCK		Richard Peacock now Dor 01 00
Francis Smith for his dwelling house 00..2..00 FRANCIS SMITH		Francis Smith, now John 01 00
Thomas Ruggles for his dwelling house 00..2..00 JOHN RUGGLES SENR	Samuel Ruggles widdow Weld	Thomas Ruggles was here
John Mays for his dwelling house 00..2..00 JOHN MAYS	John Mays sen:	John Mays 01 00
Ralph Hemingway for his dwelling house 00..2..00 RALPH HEMINGWAY	Ralph Hemingway	John Hemingway 01 00
Edward Bridge for his dwelling house 00..2..00 the mark of Pox Edward Bridge	Edward Bridge	Edward Bridge 01 00

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*List of Donors and Estates*, ca. *1700*
Abraham Howe for his dwelling house 00..2..00 ABRAHAM HOW	Abraham How	Abram. How, now Isaac 01 00
Gowin Anderson for his dwelling house 00..2..00 GOWIN ANDERSON	William Cleaves	Gowin Anderson, now Aspinwall 01 00
Arthur Gary for his dwelling house 00..2..00	widdow Gary	Arthur Gary
Edward Bugby for his dwelling house 00..2..00	Joseph Bugbee	Edward Bubgy Edward White
Edward White for his dwelling house 00..2..00 Mr. John Gore possesseth	Samuel Crafts	(Their names were here but they did not sign original themselves)
John Ruggles for his dwelling house 00..4..00 JOHN RUGGLES	John Ruggles	John Ruggles, now John Ruggles, sr. 2 00
Robert Williams for his dwelling house 00..4..00 ROBERT WILLIAMS	Robert Williams	Robert Willyams, now Stevens 2 00
John Scarboro for his dwelling house 00..4..00 JOHN SCARBORO	Phillip Tory	John Scarborough, now Samuell 2 00
Giles Payson for his dwelling house 00..4..00 GILES PAYSON	Giles Payson	
Richard Peper for his dwelling house 00..4..00 the mark / of Richard Peper	gd. Waterman	Richard Pepper, now Scarborough 2 00
Humphrey Johnson for his dwelling house 00..4..00 HUMPHREY JOHNSON	Samuel Williams	Humphrey Johnson, now J. Williams 2 00
Richard Woody Sen for his dwelling house 00..3..4 RICHARD WOODY	Joseph Wize	Richard Woody, now Mr. Walter 01 08
Richard Woody jr. 00..3..4 RICHARD WOODY	Thomas Garner	Richard Woody jr, now Mr. Walter 01 08

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*Lists of Donors and Estates*, ca. *1700*
John Woody for his dwelling house 00..3..4 JOHN WOODY		John Woody, now Macarty 01 08
Abraham Newell for his dwelling place 00..3..4 the mark X of Abraham Newel	Abraham Newell Sen:	Abraham Nowell now Macarty 01 08
John Stonnard for his dwelling house 00..3..4	Samuell Finch	John Stonnard (but he did not sign the original)
Edward Payson for his dwelling house 00..3..4 the mark here V Edward Pason	Edward Payson	Edmund Pason, now Holbrook 01 08
Robert Seaver for his dwelling place 00..3..4	Robert Seaver Sen.	
Robert Gamblin for his dwelling place 00..2..6	Gamblin	Robert Gamblin, now Benj. 01 08
Thomas Gardner for his dwelling place 00..3..4 THOMAS GARDNER	Richard Sutton	Thomas Gardner, now Sam Williams 01 08
Robert Peper for his dwelling house 00..2..00 ROBERT PEPER		Robert Peper, now Pike 01 00
William Levins for his dwelling house 00..2..00 JOHN ELIOT)) Witn.		William Levins included in bracket
Martin Stebbins for his dwelling house 00..2..00 Peter Gardner his house and ground Peter Gardner his * mark	Peter Gardner	Peter Gardner, now Cheney 01 00
John Stebbins for his house wherein he now dwells 00..2..00 JOHN STEBBINS	John Stebbin	John Stebbins included in bracket
Jeremiah Cesworth 00..2..00		

Agreement of 1645	*Covenant of 1669*	*Lists of Donors and Estates,* ca. *1700*
Mr. Bell in his time of living in Roxbury did buy out this land and this is comprehended in Mr. Bell his donation of twenty shilling the annum		
Robert Prentiss 00..2..00		Robert Prentiss included in bracket
Lewis Jones for his dwelling house 00..4..00		Lewis Jones, now Ruggles tertius 02 00
Lewis Jones		

Agreement of 1645, OSB, 5–11.

Covenant of 1669, Dillaway, frontispiece.

List of Donors and Estates, *ca.* 1700. Ellis, 56–57, practically identical with John Bowles's account book of 1703–1705 in possession of Roxbury Latin School.

1646

It is agreed by all such of the Inhabytants of Roxbury as have or shall subscribe their names or marks to this book for themselves severally and for their severall and respective heirs and executors that not only their houses, but also their yards orchards gardines outhouses and homesteads shalbe and are hereby bound and be made lyable to and for the severall yearly sums and rents befor or hereafter in this book mentioned to be paid by every of them: Dated this xxviiith day of December. *1646*

Tho: Dudley
Tho: Weld
John Eliot
Isaac Heath
Hugh Prichard
John Johnson
William Parke
John Roberts
William X Cheyey
Richard Peper
Gowan Anderson
Giles Payson
Humphrey Johnson
Edward Porter
Isaac Johnson
Thomas Gardner

OSB, 19. Dillaway, 13. Ellis, 39.

1648

We have appointed William Hely to receive all the demands from us for boarding of Father Stowe and his son and the rent for his house made the Schoole of

Bro Bridges, being 25 18 and a 1 d. which is to be discounted of his rent of the Schoole Land this being the 27th of November 1648.

OSB, 117. Dillaway, 25.

This witnesseth that I, Isaac Morrell, having agreed and undertaken, yearlie, too collecte and Gather the schoole money and paye it in too the Schoole Master with in sixteen daies after each A halfe yeare the first halfe yeare being the 25th of March and the other halfe yeare the 25th of September / This bargaine and agrement was made bye all the feoffees. the 27th day of November, wherein wee doe hereby invest and indowe the affore said Isaac Morrell, with all power we have to collect gather and share of all and of eache persons or person that hath engaged himself house or and garden and barns for the paienge of those engagements for the maintanentce of the free schoole for evere att Roxbury* unto which agreement I the said Isaac Morrell hauve subscribed my name in the presence of the 27th of November

1648

Witness ISAAC MORRELL

NATHANIELL ?????

CALEB FOOTE

* The said Isaac Morrell to have yearly 20/8 for the gathering of the yearly payment for the scholmaster.

OSB, 116. Dillaway, 25–26.

1650

The Feoffees have agreed with Mr. Hanford to teach the Free School the next year beginning the 25th of the first moneth in the yeare 1650 and for his wages we do promise to give him twenty two pounds.

OSB, 114. Dillaway, 26.

Payd to Mr. Hanford by Diett att Bro Peacock 13th. Money payd him by Bro Peacock . . . 16.1.4

OSB, 121.

1652

The Feoffees have agreed with Mr. Weld this 22nd of the 9th, 52, that he provide convenient Benches and forms with tables for the scholars to sitt on, and to write att, with a convenient seat for the schoolmaster and a desk to put the Dictionarys on and shelves to lay up books and to keep the house and windows and doors with the chimney sufficient and proper. And in consideration hereof there shalbe added to his yearly stipend due by the book the rent of the School Land being four pounds the year. He having promised to the Feoffees to free them of the labor of gathering up the particulars of the contribution, and they to stand by him in case any be refractory:

DANIEL WELD

By virtue of this Agreement the Feoffees are Discharged untill the twenty Ninth of Sept: 1666. the Michelmas after his Decease, viz. Mr. Daniell Weld late Schoolemaster.

OSB, 114. Dillaway, 26–27. Ellis, 51. Hale, 16.

1655

[*From the New England Commissioners to Edward Rawson, New Haven, September 15, 1655.*]

Mr. Rawson wee have Received youer letter together with youer account which wee have perused and signed what you delivered to Mr. Eliote and Mr Weld . . .

ACUC, 139.

It is left to the Commissioners for the Massachusetts to agree with Mr. Weld for the diate and teaching of the Indian Children with him and to doe what elss may further the Indian worke till the next meeting of the Commissioners; . . .

Minutes of September, 1655, ACUC, 141.

1656

A Note of the persons in the Indian worke and their sallaries per annum . . .

To Mr. Weld for diett and for teaching eight Indians boyes and one gerle 085–00–00

For clothing the said boyes and gerle about 050–00–00

Minutes of September, 1656, ACUC, 167.

1657

A Note of the persons Imployed in the Indian worke and theire sallaries per annum . . .

The charge of diett of 9 Indian Children 085–00–00

Theire Clothing 050–00–00

. . . And further it is desired the said Mr. Chauncey and Mr. Elliott with the advice of the Commissioners of the Massachusetts doe take care to remove soe many of the Indian youthes which live att Mr. Wells to Cambridge as they shall Judge capable of farther improvement to provide for them accordingly; . . .

Minutes of September, 1657, ACUC, 189–190.

1658

25 March 1658 The names of the Foefese of the schole of Roxbury now in being are Isack Heath elder of the Church of Roxbury John Johnson Willyam Parks Isack Morrell for as much as it hath pleased God by his providence to remove by death and removal sundry of the Foefese now to make up the number of names, according to the order mentioned in the booke we the surviving Foefese

have chosen to make the number complete namely Griffin Crafts (John Ruggles Senior) John Pairepoint Thomas Weld: Since John Johnson death was chosen 18 day May 1660—John Ruggles Senr to compleat the number of them

OSB, 21. Dillaway, 27.

To Mr. Weld for diating and Teaching the Indians from July 25, 1657 till October 25 following 22–10–00

To him for a yeares diate and Teaching five of them from 25 October 1657 to 25 October 1658 50–00–00

ACUC, 206.

Joane the Indian Mayde now att Mr. Welds is to be with the Governor of the Massachusetts after her yeare is up untill she bee otherwise disposed hee finding her Clothes for her service The other Indians at Scoole are to be disposed of by the Commissioners of the Massachusetts.

Minutes of September, 1658, ACUC, 207.

1659

To Mr. Daniell Weld of Rocksbury for Dieting and Teaching four Indians 20–00–00

Minutes of September, 1659, ACUC, 219.

To the honored Gouernour, Deputie Gouernour,
and the rest of the Maiestrates, together with the
Deputies, assembled in the generall Court at Boston

The humble petition of Daniel Weld & Elijah Corlett
sig. sig.

humbly sheweth that your petitioners hath [*sic*] lived in this Country for the space of twenty yeares and upward, And hath all this tyme been exercised in publike imployment, namely in teaching scholers, as wherein they might be most servicable to the Commonwealth: And thereby hath hitherto neglected the lookinge after future supplie in providinge land for our selves and our smale Children, ourselfes haueinge not soe much as one Acre of land in our owne possession for their support. In consideration whereof your Petitioners most humbly make their Addresse unto this honoured assembly, humbly intreatinge you to graunt unto us some convenient portion of Land, as shall seeme good unto your graue wisdomes, lyinge where your petitioners shall fynd out, not intrenchinge in the least measure upon any former graunt given to any man: And your petitioners shall pray, for the flourishinge estate of this Country longe to Continue, etc.

[To this petition of Daniel Weld's Elijah Corlett obviously added his name before presentation, making the above changes in wording.]

Our *Publications*, XVII. 141.

The Committe considering the usefulness of the Petitioners in an imployment

of so common concernment for the good of the whole County, and the little incouragement that they have had from their respective Townes for their service and unwearied paynes, in that imployment, do judge meet that they be granted 200 acres of Land apiece to be taken up adjoyning to such Lands as have been already granted [and] layd out by order of this Court.

21 (8) 59

THOMAS DANFORTH
ANTHONY STODDARD
ROGER CLAPP.

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 40.

Boston in New England, Octob 18, 1659

In answer to the petition of Danield Wells and Elijak Corlett schoolmasters, the Court considering the usefulness of the Petitioners, in an imployment of so common consideration for the good of the whole country, and the little encouragement that they have had from their respective townes, for their services and univaried paynes in the imployment, do judge meet to grant to each of them, two hundred acres of land, to be taken up adjoyning to such lands, as have ben already granted and layd out by order of this Court.

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 39.

1660

[*From the New England Commissioners to the Corporation in London, September 10, 1660.*]

. . . two youthes at Roxburry that were Inisiated with Mr. Wells died alsoe this summer in which hath bine much mortallitie amon[g]st the Indians, the other two are yett with him; . . .

ACUC, 242.

To Mr. Weld of Roxburrow for the Diett and Teaching of two Indian boyes one yeare: and two for parte of the yeare that died afterwards and for charges of buriall &c; 35–00–00

ACUC, 246.

At the second session of the General Court held at Boston the 16th Oct., 1660. The Court judgeth it meet to grant to the town of Roxbury five hundred acres of land toward the maintenance of a free school.

Dillaway, 55.

1661

To Mr. Weld of Rocksburrow for the Diett Clothing and Teaching of 2 Indians Boyes one yeare ending the 10th Decem next 30–00–00

Minutes of September, 1661, ACUC, 263.

1662

[*From the New England Commissioners to the Corporation, September 10, 1662.*]

. . . the laborers in the worke for the Instruction of the Indians in the severall Colonies are still Continewed together to the education of sundry youth two whereof have been the yeare past brought up att the Colledge att Cambridge . . . alsoe others are att the Grammer Scoole and two more att the English Scoole where they learne to read and write; one whereof is now fitted for the Gramer Scoole . . .

ACUC, 275.

To Mr. Daniell Weld att Roxbury for Diet Clothing and Scooling of two youthes the yeare last past abateeing three quarters of a yeare for one of them ending Decem: 20 next 25–00–00

ACUC, 277.

The Commissioners doe order that the senior[3] of those Indian Scollars att Mr. Welds bee Removed to the gramer Scoole att Cambridge att the expiration of this year and hee is alowed to take another youth now sent from Martins Vinyard that came to him about the 9th of this Instant and another Pequot youth if hee may bee procured and such allowance to bee made to Mr. Weld for the clothing of him that is Removed as the Commissioners of the Massachusetts shall thinke meet; . . .

ACUC, 280–281.

. . . Captaine Denison Thomas Stanton and James Averell . . . are alsoe desired to Improve theire Interest with the said Pequotts to procure some towardly youth to bee brought up in learning for future service and to send him up to Mr. Weld of Roxburry whoe is ordered to take care of him;

ACUC, 285.

1663

The same day [January 19, 1662/3] there was given for the use of the scholemaster ten Accers of this common land, That is to say the use of the wood and timeber for his own use not to give and sell any and so this to be for ever for the use of the scholemaster.

RTR, I. 35.

At the townemeeting the nineteenth day of the eleventh month 1662 it was unanimously agreed that all the donors of the schole in Roxbery doe meete together, in the scholehouse at nine of the clock upon the forth day then fortnight being the fourth day of the last month, the same year, And whoever else of the Inhabitants and neighbours of the said towne that are willinge to joyne in

[3] The variant reading "severall" is obviously incorrect with the context.

the promotinge the good and benefitt of the said schole are desired alsoe to be present at the said meeting.

OSB, 21. Dillaway, 27.

The Doners did meet upon the fifteenth day of February 1663 and they came to a new choise of seven feoffees and they chose theas following
Deacon Parks (21) Edward Denison (21) Robert Williams (19) Willyam Cheney (15) Giles Payson (13) John Bowles (15) Thomas Weld (21)
The Doners being warned to the formentioned end upon the eight day of the said month when there was a towne meeting legally called and the doners who were entred in the book haveing pertickuler warning from house to House (with severall others) both of the meeting and the end of it.

OSB, 21 [voting list, 121]. Dillaway, 28 [without votes].

To the diett clothing and scooling of two Indians with Mr. Weld att Roxburry for one yeare past 30–00–00

Minutes of September, 1663, ACUC, 296.

1664

To Mr. Weld of Roxberry for Diett Clothing and scooling three Indian youthes one yeare 45–00–00

Minutes of September, 1664, ACUC, 317.

Much Honored. I humbly salute you in the Lord, with my humble service unto your good Worships. I doe here present myne accounts unto you, of the Indians that are committed to my trust: I have onely three Indian Schollers, and their yeares came out upon the 25 of July last: And I acknowledge my selfe fully satisfied for the yeare past, by your Worships direction to Mr. Usher: And I could wish, if it might stand with your Worships likeinge, that there might be one Indian more added to those I have, because they are much subject to consumptions whereof 4 have died within these few years. Soe prayeinge the Lord to bless you and to send you safe home, I humbly rest, From Roxbury, Sept. 5 (64).

Your Worships humble servant
DANIEL WELD

To the much honored Mr. Bradstreet & Mr. Danforth & the rest of the honored Commissioners of the united Colonyes now sittinge at Hartford, these present.

ACUC, 382–383.

1665–1666

In 1665, the school house, probably the first, was repaired by Capt. Johnson. But in 1666 it was complained of as out of repair.

Ellis, 53.

Upon the 26,12,66, the Feoffees met together and agreed to speak with Mr. Mighill to be school master for our town . . . to begin his time by the 26th of March next.

Dillaway, 29, quoting lost document.

In the year Sixty Six,[4] in the month of January, Mr. Daniel Weld being formerly dead the Feoffees thought it needful for them to meete together and accordingly did to consider what course was best to be taken for the setling of the Scoole in Roxbury, and upon consultation they judged it conveninent to advise with all the donors to have there counsell therein, wheupon the Feoffees sent out to call together the donors, who upon warning and notice came in and mett the same month aforesaid and after some discourse it was thought covenient and a matter most tending to peace and love to propound the case to the whole towne that so opportunity might be given to as many as thought good of the Towne to come in and joyne in this worke; and as to help beare the charge, so to have the priveledg of the schole; according to which conclusion at the genrall towne meeting that was in January it was propounded to the towne that they would apoynt a time to meete and consider of the schole and either come in and joyne with us in this foundation of the schole or ells that they wouod present a better way settled upon as good or a better foundation and we would gladly joyne with them when it should be presented to us. upon the propositin of this motion to the towne it was voated and concluded to meete that day seaven night, and upon that day the towne mett, and when they were mett the scope of the discourse of some persons that spake the most was for the removall of the schoole (which was not the worke of the day) without which there seemed to appeare (we will not say a party) severall persons that would not doe anything for the schoole; so after much discourse speinding the day, they neither coming in to joyne in the old foundation of the school nor present us an any other or better, that meeting was orderly dissolved and nothing done.

Parker, 30.

1667

The same day it was voated that the Selectmen and the Foeefose of the Schole are appointed to see whether a convenient place may be found nere the watch and school House about a rod and a half of ground that may be granted for a house plot to Nathll Seaver without loss or detriment either to the towne schoole or Inhabitants which finding have power to grant.

The same day it was voted and agreed that the towne should meet upon the 4 day of Feb. to agitate about the setling of the schoole.

RTR, 46.

The second of April 1667 the selectmen and Feoffees mett together and did con-

[4] January, 1666, Old Style is January, 1667, by the present Gregorian New Style calendar.

sent to the grant that he should have that Ground given him as one the other had mentioned and the said Nathaniell [Seaver] to have it on which end of the Schole House he pleases.

RTR, 47.

To Diett and clothing of two Indian Youthes att Roxbury 30–00–00

Minutes of September, 1667, ACUC, 330.

1668

The Lord having taken away two of the Feofesse by death[5] and by the Liberty the rest of the Foefese have they have compleated there number by the choice of our two Elders namly Mr. John Eliot our teacher and Mr. Samuell Danfourth our pastor the 24 of November, 1668.

OSB, 23. Dillaway, 29.

1669

This covenant was made the 25th of the 12th.68 [i.e. Feb. 1669]
Know all men by these presents, that Mr. Elliote Sen: William Parks, Thomas Welds, John Boles, Robert William, Giles Payson, at present Feoffees in Roxberry, have covenanted, and agreed with John Prudden to keep a schoole in the towne of Roxberry, for the space of one full year, beginning on the first of March next ensuing the date herof: but not longer except the said John Prudden see cause for to doe; provided he give a quarters warning to the aforesaid Feoffees that they may other-wise conveniently provide themselves another schoolmaster where-upon the said John Prudden doth promise and engage to use his best skill, and endeavour, both by praecept, and example, to instruct in all scholasticall, morall, and theologicall discipline, the children, (soe far as they are or shall be capable) of those persons whose names are here under-written. All Abcdarians excepted.[6]

In consideration wherof the afore-sayd feoffees (not enjoyning, not leting the said John Prudden from teaching any other children; profided the number therof doe not hinder the profiting of the fore-named youth) doe promise, and engage (for the due recompence of his labour) to all the said John Prudden the full, and just summe of twenty-five pounds: the one halfe to be payed on the 29 of September next ensuing the date hereof, and the other halfe on the 25 of March next ensuing. i:e: in the year (70) the said 25£ to be payed by William Parks, and Robert Williams, their heirs or administrators, at the upper-mills in

[5] The two who died were Edward Denison and William Cheney. This, with one exception in 1771, was the last election by the feoffees. All subsequent elections of feoffees were made by the donors.

[6] See agreement of 1645 for names signed here as compared with the list of original donors. To these should be added: Gratis John Gorton John Griggs William Hopkins Frizall.

Roxberry, three-quarters in Indian-corne, or peas, and the other fourth-part in barley, all good and merchantable, at price currant in the countrey rate, at the dayes of payment. It is also further added (by agreement) for the encouragement of the said John Prudden in the said employment: that if any person or persons in the towne of Roxberry shall for like ends desire, and upon like grounds with those above mentioned see meet to adde their names to this writeing; they shall enjoy the like priviledges with those whose names are above-written, provided that whatsoever they shall give in that way, shall be an addition to the 25£ and to be payed with it as afore-sayd. For the confirmation of which covenant, we mutually subscribe our hands herto.

Wheras it is above-sayd that William Parkes, and Robert Williams doe engage both for the time, place, and manner of the paying the afore-said twenty-five pounds: Giles Payson and Robert Williams their heirs, or administrators doe herby engage for the payment of the one halfe of the afore-said twentie-five pounds, at the same place and in the manner as above written, but in the month commonly called November, next ensuing the date herof. and for the Payment of the other halfe the fore-said William Parks, and Jonh Boless: doe in the like manner engage themselves heirs and administrators, to be payed on the 25 of March next ensuing that: i:e: in the year (70) or before the time.

JOHN ELIOT
WILLIAM PARK
JOHN PRUDDEN — THOMAS WELD
JOHN BOWLES
This Covenant fulfilled to the satisfaction of the covenantees. — ROBERT WILLIAMS
GILES PAYSON

JOHN PRUDDEN.

Covenant's original in possession of Roxbury Latin School. Facsimile forms frontispiece of Dillaway.

Dillaway, 30–32. Parker, 29–30. Ellis, 51–52, in part.

The humble petition of the Feoffees of the Schoole of Roxbury to the honored Gen: Court this 20th of the 3d m. 69 sheweth

1 That whereas the first inhabitants of Roxbury, to the number of more than Sixtie Families, well nigh the whole Towne in those dayes, have agreed together to lay the foundation of a grammar schoole, for the glory of God, the future good and service of the country, and of the churches of Christ: and for the particular good education of the youth of our church and Towne. And for the maintenance theroff, have by a voluntary donation, given a small rent for ever, out of theire several habitations and homsteds, as appeareth in the records of our schoole book and have settled a company of Feoffees, in a certaine order of their perpetual succession and given unto them full power both to receive gather, and improve the said rents, to the end whereunto they are given, as appeareth in the charter. In which way we have had a schoole, and gone on peacably for many years, till of late,

some interruption, and opposition hath risen, which hath awakened us to petition the honored court, to Ratifie, confirme, and authorize, the saide Schoole, and the rents due thereunto by voluntary donation, and the Feoffees who have the power to gather, order, and manage the same.

2 Furthermore, whereas by divine Providence, our first booke and charter was burnt in the burning of John Johnson's house, it was againe, with the like voluntary consent and agreement renewed, in this forme and manner as we doe now present it. Yet by reason of the death of sundry of the donors, and the alienation of sundry of the tenements, we are under this defect, that some of the hands of the donors wer not unto this 2d booke personally, which were to the first, nor are they attainable, being dead. Therefore our humble request is, that seeing it was a voluntary dedication to so pious a use, and enough still living that doe attest the same, and their payment of these several summes for these many years, hath intitled the School in the right thereoff, that the honored court would please to ratifie and confirme the Schools title unto these habitations and homesteds, for the rents due thereunto, and to impower the Feoffees to receive and gather the same, as if the names of the donors were written with their owne hands.

3ly Whereas there is a parcel of land, many years since given to our Schoole, but through slackness in such publick matters the Schools title to it is not yet so sufficiently secured as were meete, and there be left alive no more than needs must be, to confirme the same, and it is, by annexing a schedule to the will of the deceased donor, touching a clause in his will, which was not put in when the will was proved. Our humble request is, that by the authority of this court, the schedule, and the schools title in the lands, may be ratified and confirmed, so committing you to the Lord we rest

your humble petitioners
John Eliot
Thomas Weld

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 64. Dillaway, 15–17. Ellis, 42–43, in part.

(Ansr to Mr. Elliots petion for free schhole at Roxbury)
At a generall Court held at Boston the 19 3 1669
In answere to the petition of the feoffees of the School of Roxbury signed by Mr. John Eliot and Mr. Thomas Weld [and] for the Due Encouragement of the School [at] of Roxbury This Court Do[e]th Appoint Major General Leveret, Mr. Edward Ting Mr. Stoughton Mr. Thomas Shepard or any three of them to be a Committee to inquire into the true state of this affair to heare what may be said pro et con, Indeavouring what in them lyes an Amicable Agreement and full settlement of that affair amongst themselves and if that cannot be obtained to Make their report where the obstruction lyes and what it is to the Next Session of this Court that so the obstructions may be removed and so good and pious a work may be confirmed and determined according to the mind of the donours of so charitable a work.

This is past by the Magistrates and their brethren the
deputys hereto Consenting — Consented to by the Deputys
EDWARD RAWSON Secrety — WILLIAM TORREY Clerk
2 June, 1669
This is a true Copye of the Court order
taken out of the Court Records
as attests Edw. Rawson Secrtary.

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 64a. *Mass. Bay Records*, IV (II). 434. OSB, 27. Dillaway, 17.

Mr. Bell at the request of Mr. Eliot hath given power to D [ ] and to Mr. Eliot to make the sum of his donation upon his farm the sum of twenty shi[llings wi]tness his letters dated the 22nd of the third month 1669. This is twenty shillings per annum.

OSB, 14.

21: 8 69
Return of committee about Roxbury schole
Through some unexpected occurents of providence we find ourselves unavoidably debarred from the opportunity of gaining that clear, and full understanding of the true state of things referring to the school in Roxbury which is necessary to our making that report to this honoured Generall Court in the present session thereof, as is meet; only we ~~judge~~ think it very expedient that the present Schoolmaster be incouraged in his work by the due payment of his salary, from time to time, according to agreement, [and] untill this hon*or* Court shall take further order about that affair.

JNO LEVERETT
EDWARD TYNGE
WILLIAM STOUGHTON
THOMAS SHEPARD

22 October 69

The Deputys Judge meete to re impower this Committee, for the finishing of what was committed to them in this matter and to make returne thereof at the next Court of Election the Hon'd Magistrates consenting hereto
WILLIAM TORREY, Clerk

Consented by the Magistrates
EDWARD RAWSON Secretary.

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 65. *Mass. Bay Records*, IV (II). 441.

1670

In pursuance of the Appointment of the Hono*rd* Gener*ll* Court May the 19th, 1669 and further renewed Octob*r* the 12, 1669, appointing us Referrees to in-

quire into the true state of the matter of a petition presented in the name of the Feoffees of the Schoole at Roxburrough signed by Mr. Jno Eliott and Mr. Thomas Weld; wee having read the papers presented by the persons concerned and heard their severall Allegations, doe find that in the yeare 1645 there was an Agreement of many of the then Inhabitants of Roxburrough for the laying a foundation for a Schoole for the Instruction of youth in Litterature, and that the Schoole work that hath been carryed an end in that towne hath been performed upon that foundation, and that there hath not any other provision at any time been made for the providing of Litterature amongst the youth there. We find also that many of the present Inhabitants are strongly desirous that that foundation may be incouraged, who doubt not but by the countenance of the Authority of this Court they shall be able to carry an end the worke effectually to the ends proposed. Wee find also that severall of the Inhabitants do strongly oppose the way proposed, and that hath beene in practise as declared by the petitioners, yet do not find that they propound any other effectual way, but some of them desirous that this may be altered provided another might be settled first that might be more acceptable to them, yet they declared, that they feared if the way that hath beene formerly attended be wholly waved they should have no School at all therefore desire that, that way that hath beene, and yet is, may be continued and established rather than that there should be no Schoole. And for as much that ye the endeavours we have used to persuade them to a mutual agreement, we find not any desirable effect, nor that the temper of those opposing the former foundation is incouraging that by any other indeavours they will be persuaded, the premisses considered we conceive that the petitioners desires should be granted in granting a confirmation of the School at Roxburrough, and to be a free school for all in that towne, and that the present Feoffees and their Successors chosen as by that Agreement be confirmed and impowered, as to collect former subscriptions, soe to take in others and to collect what rents by donation or otherwise may arise due to them, and that those whose names are not in this book (two witnesses upon oath appearing to prove they did assent and agree to the way of the Booke) be obliged and their heyres and assignes as if their names had been thereunto: we also conceive that the Land of Laurance Whittemore be improved to the best good of the towne in being settled upon the Free School; all which we submitt to the wisdome and determination of this Honored Court.

Jno Leverett
Edward Tyng
May 19: 1670 William Stoughton
Thomas Shepard

This Magistrates have past this their bretheren
the Deputies hereto Consenting and that
there be an order drawn up accordingly.

Edward Rawson, Secretary

Consented to by the Deputies

WILLIAM TORREY, Clerk

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 66. *Mass. Bay Records*, IV (II). 455–456. OSB, 28–30. Dillaway, 19–21. Ellis, 43–44, in part.

Whereas certain of the Inhabitants of Roxbury out of a religious care of their posterity and their education in good Literature did heretofore sequester and set apart certain summes of money amounting to twenty pounds to be paid annually unto certain Feoffees and their successors by the said Donors or Feoffees orderly chosen for the sole and only behoof benefit and settlement of a free school in the said town of Roxburie obliging themselves, heirs, executors and assignes, together with their Houses and Homesteads for the true and full performance of their respective obligations all which doth fully appear by their Agreement bearing date the last of August one thousand six hundred forty five, in which Agreement the originall Donors were wisely suitors to the general Court for the establishment of the premisses according to which a petition was proferred in the name of the present Feoffees to the General Court Holden at Boston May 19, 1669. in answer of which the court impowered a committee to take cognizance of and return the case to the court which accordingly was done as appears by their return dated May 19. 70. After serious consideration whereof this Court doth hereby order and enact that the said Agrement made and signed by the Donors of the said Summe of Money the last of August 1645 be by our Authority ratified and established to all Intents Ends and Purposes therein specified both with respect to the orderly choice and power of the Feoffees, as also for the time and manner of the Payment of the said summes of Money distinctly to be yielded and payed by the Donors of the same, according to their respective subscriptions. And in case of the refusall of payment of any Part of the said summes of money to which subscription is made or consent legally proved, that the orderly distress of the Feoffees upon the respective estates obliged shall be valid for the payment of any such summes of money refused to be paid, as also this Courty by their Authority doth settle and Determine the lands of Lawrence Whittamore, with all the Rents and Arrearages that have or may arise from the same to be received and Improved by the said Feoffees to the use, behoofe and benefit of the Free Schoole in Roxbury which said Feoffees are hereby Impowered for the ordering of all things for the settlemation and reparation of the Schoole House, Choice of Master, and order of Schollers and to Improve all Donations either past or future for the behoofe and benefit of the said School without any Personal or private respects, as also the ordering of twenty acres of Arable land lying in the Great Lotts, which hath been in occupation for the said School about twenty years, as also that if for the necessary and Convenient future being of a schoolemaster there be necessary the future levying of any further summes of money, that the Donors be absolutely and wholly free, from any such levy or Imposition those only being accounted Donors, who are Possessors of or responsible for the said summes of money according to subscriptions, and

the said Feoffees to be allways responsible to the Court of Assistants and Donors for their Faithfull Discharge of their Trust.
(The Deputies have past this Desiring the Consent of the Honord Magistrates hereto.

23:3:1670 William Torry Clerk

The Magistrates Consent hereto provide the proviso hereto annexed.) Provided there be constant provision of an able grammar schoolemaster and the schoole-house is settled where it was first intended and may be accomodable to those whose homesteads were engaged towards the Maintainnance thereof and in Case there be need of further Contribution that the levy be equally made on all the Inhabitans excepting only those that Do by virtue of their subscription pay their full proportion of the annual charges.
23:3:1670

Edward Rawson Secretary
Consented to by the Deputies. William Torry Clerk

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 67–69. *Mass. Bay Records*, IV (II). 456–48. OSB, 32–33. Dillaway, 33–35.

1672

A coppy of that Article in Mr. Bells wil wherein he gives his land to the free schoole of Roxbury.
E Reg*eo* Curia prorogativa Cant: Extract
In testamento sive ul*t* volo Thomas Bell Seniors muy Civitatis Londini Mercator Dest:gerent Dat. 290 Die Mensis Januarii Anno Dom 1671, penis Regrum Curia Prorogativa Cant Romanem inter alia in eodem continetur prae sequitur vizt.

Imprimis I give unto Mr. John Eliot Minister of the Church and people of God in Roxbury in New England and Capt: Isaak Johnson whom I take to be an officer or overseer of and in the said Church and to one such other like Godly person now bearing office in the said Church and their Successors the Minister and other such two head officers of the said Church at Roxbury as the whole Church there from time to time shall best approve of successively from time to time for ever. all those my Messuages or tenements Lands and heriditaments with their and every of their appertenances situate Lying and being at Roxbury in New England aforesaid in parts beyond the seas to have and to hold to the said Minister and officers of the said Church of Roxbury for the time being for ever in trust only notwithstanding to and for the Maintainance of a schoole Master and free schoole for the teaching and Instructing of Poor Mens children at Roxbury aforesaid for ever And to be for no other use intent or purpose whatsoever

Probatum apud London Coram venti viro Johanne Clark Legum surro Or 30 Die Mensis May Anno Dom. 1672, Juramt*o* Susanna Bell Relica et Extricis a Cui et de bene Volo jurat

Marcus Cottle Reg.

Examinatu cum testam*to* original 23 Mensis Augusti 1673
Per me Robtum Perry
Not*m* Pub*cum*

OSB, 40–41.

1673

Upon the 9 day of January 1672 [/3] the Selectmen and the Feoffees of the Schoole of Roxbury met together with the commoners of the Great Lotts and they did otherwise agree about the way[7] to the schooles land, above mentioned.

RTR, I. 60.

Mm. That on the 10.12.1673 the above said Testament of Land was read to the church and the Rev*nd* Mr. Samuell Danforth Pastor to the said Church of Roxbury was Chosen and Impowered to Act with the other two above mentioned, as above.

OSB, 41. Dillaway, 39.

17. 12. 1673
Agreed by a full Meeting of the Feoffees that the first second day of May next the Feoffees Do appoint to meet to settle the SchooleMaster and other affairs of the schoole properly belonging to them for the year next ensuing
Die supradicto Whereas the first second Day is Mentioned the first second Day of March is concluded to be the Day and that the Next year do begin on the twenty fifth of March in Consideration of what was due to Mr. Gore for keeping schoole before his formal entrance there upon.

OSB, 42. Dillaway, 37–38.

I Benjamin Gambling of Roxbury Being well acquainted with the management of that farm in Roxbury which was Mr. Bells, now in the teanure of Ebenezer Gore, and the same in Controversy, I being desired by Both parties to speak what I know in the concern, And it is as followed [viz.] When Mr. Bell went for England he left his brother Meekins upon his farm, afterwards went off from thence, leaving the farm, when his wife died, who was Mr. Bells sister, then Mr. Bell desired Mr. Johnson to take care of it and let it out and to improve the Income for the poor of the Town of Roxbury. Then Mr. Johnson lett it to Mr. Morris who lived upon it divers years, when said Morris left it: he let it to Jonathan Peak Senr who injoyed it some years, then Mr. Bell altered the disposal of the income and impowered Mr. Eliot and Capt. Johnson to improve the income for the use of the School, Mr. Jno Gore being then the schoolmaster. The said Mr. Eliot and Capt. Johnson put the farm into the hands of said Gore he allowing 8 £ per Annum for the Rent towards his sallery for keeping school. Said Gore not willing to take up with that proposal Except he had a lease for some considerable time because the houseing and fences were gone much to decay and would be for a great charge to repair them According they

[7] This refers to a vote of May 21, to make a way to the Great Lots.

/ with the Feoffees / gave him a lease for twenty one years, this lease was given above fourty years ago, before this lease was Expired by many years, the Trustees for the said School Made Proposals to Mr. Gore of taking a lease for 500 years if he would acquitt the former And take up with a new for so long a term and releasing near half the land leased in the former, and pay to the use of the school twelve pounds per Annum, which proposals Mr. Gore taking into consideration, the benefit such a lease might be to his children because they then would be Incoraged to build and to plant orcharding, which might so prosper to Increase the Income of the place he accepted and took a lease for 500 years accordingly And hath been in possession by himself and Children to this day

BENJAMIN GAMBLING

Dated Nov 5th 1717

Suffolk Ss. Boston November 5, 1717

Sworn to in the Superiour Court by B. GAMBLIN

Attest: ELISAH COOKE Clerk

Sup. Court Files, 12314.

Agreed 21 4 1672

By the Feoffees of the Free Schoole

That whatsoever ScholleMaster be hired for the Towns use it shall be done in writing under the hands of five at least of the feoffees and the Schoole Master and that for the tearm of and for a year only and to be renewed and agreed upon every year. In which agreement the summe of Money to be paid the Duty of the Schoolemaster, and manner and Nature of his Performance therein is to be set Down and no Donour to be obliged to Pay any Dues unto any other but such a schoole Master so hired And that a Quarter of a years warning and notice shall be required to be given either by the feoffees or by the schoole Master when either or both will hire or be hired for no longer time.

OSB, 39. Dillaway, 37–38.

1674

Roxbury, this 27.12. 1673 (/4)

Whereas Mr. Thomas Bell of London Merchant Lately deceased hath by his last will and Testament given his farm in Roxbury in N.E. to Certain Trustees for the mainetainance of a schoolemaster and free school in Roxbury for ever and Mr. John Eliot and Capt. Isaak Johnson two of the Trustees have afixed the rent of the said farm to the present free schoole in Roxbury as appeareth, by their lease of the said farm to Mr. John Gore I Samuell Danforth being according to the Direction given in Mr. Bell's will chosen 12.12.73 by the church to be the third trustee upon Mature Deliberation I do allow and approve and Do hereby confirm the affixing of the said Donation of Mr. Bell to the present free schoole in Roxbury

Written Mine Hand SAMUELL DANFORTH

OSB, 43. Dillaway, 39–40.

Articles of agreement made and concluded upon between Mr. John Eliot, Mr. Samuel Danforth, and Capt. Isaak Johnson, being overseers and husbands in trust of that part of the estate of Mr. Thomas Bell, formerly of Roxbury deceased, which lyeth and is contained in said Roxbury on the one partie, and John Gore of said town, schoolmaster, on the other, partie, is as followeth, viz:— The said overseers husbands or trustees have, and by these presents do rent, let out and hire unto the said John Gore, the houses, barns and homestead of the said Mr. Thomas Bell, together with all and every parcel of land whatsoever, which was the proper estate of Mr. Thomas Bell at his decease and by him given to the use and benefit of a master and free school for teaching and instructing the children of Roxbury, (with special regard to the children of the poor,) and with all the priviliges,—to have and to hold, from the first day of May one thousand six hundred seventy-three for twenty one years.

In consideration whereof, the said Gore doth covenant to teach, or by his substitute, against whom there shall be no just objection, to cause to be taught a grammar free school according to the order and appointment of the said trustees, or paying unto the said overseers the sum of twelve pounds per annum in corn, or in cattle, or paying the same sum to any other person for the use and benefit of a school and schoolmaster as above mentioned,—finally, also, to repair said houses and barns upon his own proper cost and charge; both parties respectively to these presents have set their hands and seals this fourth day of March, one thousand six hundred and seventy three.

Signed by
JOHN GORE

Signatures of two witnesses.

Dillaway, 43–44, reprinted from lost original.

John Gore to ?

"that he apprehended some inconvenience, and wishes some postponement while the Feoffees and Trustees of Mr. Bell's will should come to a nearer union in some points that there seems to be some difference between us in. I do hereby declare that it shall not be in anywise grievous to me, if the Feoffees make choice of another schoolmaster. 26 March, 1674.

Signed JOHN GORE.

According to Dillaway, this was printed on the other side of a draft agreement, which had not been signed, of which Dillaway reprinted these words—

This 27.1.1674 between the Feoffees and Mr. Gore, that the said Mr. Gore shall . . . tend the said school and all scholars that shall attend belonging to said Town, whether Latin scholars, writers, readers, or spellers, for the term of a full and compleat year, beginning from the twenty-fifth of March past.

Dillaway, 44.

As an addition to the Courts declaration or resolve as to Roxbury Free schoole,

the las sessions, in May, this Court judgeth it meet that the trustees of Mr. Bell's estate, from time to time, pay the rents of said estate unto the Feoffees aforesaid, or theire assignes, for the use of the said Schoole.

Mass. Bay Records [October 7, 1674], v. 22.

May 27, 1674

In answer to the petition of the Feoffees of the free school of Roxbury, settled heretofore by order of the Court, in Town Street the General Court having heard and seen the pleas and evidences in the case, doe, upon mature deliberation, judge that the declared intent of Mr. Thomas Bell, both in his life and at his death, in his will, was the settlement of his estate in Roxbury upon that free school then in being at his death in the said town.

Mass. Bay Records, v. 5–6. Dillaway, 42.

28–2–1674

A Joynt Meeting and vote of all the Feoffees chose Mr. Thomas Weld Jr., scholemaster for the year ensuing and agreed that the whole Donations and Rents of the free school, together with the rent of Mr. Bells farm, be payd him except so much as is necessary for repair of the schoole house etc.

OSB, 44. Dillaway, 44.

It should be noted that at some time in 1674 the donations were halved.

Ellis, 57.

Deacon William Parke mr Joseph Dudley and Thomas Weld John Bowles Deacon Giles Payson and Robert Williams Feoffees of the Freeschoole of Roxbury Plaintiffs against Edward Morisse Senior Defendant in an action of the case for witholding and not delivering up unto the saide Feoffees a certain part of the Estate of the Late mr. Thomas Bell of London consisting in household stuffe and movable goods nor a just Account of them supposed to amount unto the Summe of twenty pounds, perticularly a pair of good shod wheeles plowes plow Irons, bedding and other implements of husbandry and house keeping given by the said Thomas Bell unto the schoole of Roxbury aforesaide of which said schoole and the Estate thereof the abovenamed persons are Feoffees in Trust, together with all due damages as shall then and there bee made appear according to Atttachment dated 22:5: 74 . . .

The Jury . . . founde for the plaintiffs all the goods in the Defendants hand relating to the Freeschool aforesaid to be delivered to the plaintiffs aforesaid the Defendant purging himselfe by this Oath and paying cost of Court in the poenall Summe of thirty pounds in mony.

Records of Suffolk County Court [our *Publications*, XXIX. 463–464].

Md. Nov*m*. 10. 1674 Disposed of the twenty pounds Money received of Edward Morris by virtue of judgment graunted against him on Account of Mr. Bells Moveables ten pounds to John Ruggles six pounds to Jonathan Fairbanks

twelve shillings 6 * to the Charges of Court, so their remayns in Deacon Park his hand, three pounds eight shillings. August 4. 1676

OSB, 44.

1677

24.1.76/7 Received of John Ruggles the aforesaid ten pounds with thirteen shillings Interest and is in Deacon Parks hands for the schooles use.

OSB, 44.

1679

The same day it was voted that without the consent of the town the scollers shall not keep school in the meeting hous.

RTR [January 13, 1678/9].

1680

At a meeting of the doners in Roxbury March 16, 1679–80, for the supply of wood for the school. It is ordered that parents masters and guardians for the several children comeing to the school, whether inhabitants or strangers, shall in the month of October or November pay to the school master four shillings per child coming to school, or bring half a cord of good merchantable wood, except such as for poverty or otherwise shall be acquitted by the Feoffees.

Dillaway, 45–46, from lost original.

Mr. Eliot and Mr. Boles declaring their intention of laying down their trust as Feoffees, Mr. John Pierpont and Gen. Timothy Stevens were made choice of by a unanimous vote of the donors for the supply of that place, and after information and upon complaint that many of the donations remain unpaid . . . it is agreed and ordered that the Feoffees annually appoint and empower one of themselves or the donors as Baily for the year, who shall give notice from house to house of the donors, the place and time of payment, . . . and in case of failure to make distress, . . . and that Robert Williams is empowered for the year ensuing, and that twenty shillings be annually allowed out of the donations for satisfaction of their service.

No date. On back of same sheet as the above.

Dillaway, 46, from lost original.

1681

Of inconveniences I shall instance in no other than that of the school-house, the confused and shattered and nastie posture that it is in, not fitting for to reside in; the glass broken, and thereupon very raw and cold, the floor very much broken and torn up to kindle fires, the hearth spoiled, the seats, some burnt and others out of kilter, so that one had as well nigh as goods keep school in a hog stie as in it.

I thought it good to acquaint you with it, and would entreat to acquaint the rest of the Feoffees therewith.

(signed.) T.B.

To this much quoted document Dillaway assigns the date 1681, and assumes that T.B. was Thomas Bernard, who taught at Roxbury Latin from 1680 until he was ordained colleague of the Rev. Francis Dane of Andover, and called to that parish, January 13, 1682/3.

Dillaway, 47, from lost original.

1682

Robert Williams is chosen steward for the gathering of the year's rent ending March 25, 1682.

Dillaway, 47, from lost original.

Roxbury. Aprill. 24. 1682.

Then agreed with Ensigne Tobias Davis that he shall improve the Schoole Land in the Great Lotts except where it let to Joshua Seaver at fifty shillings money per annum he leaving the fences belonging thereto in tenantable repayr, until the first day of May, 1689.

Tobias Davis

Present.

J Dudley

W Park

T. Stevens.

OSB, 110. Dillaway, 47, in part.

1683

Memorand: 29th October, 1683.

Given by Mr. William Mead late of Roxbury deceased (as is thus expressed in his will) unto the free school of Roxbury for the incouragement of learning all the aforesaid little tenement by me purchased, in case my wife marry, and in case my beloved wife Rebbekah marry not my will is that after her desease the whole abovementioned tenement shall be for the use and benefit of the aforesaid School and managed by the Feoffees of the said School for the best advantage.

OSB, 48. Dillaway, 47.

1684

July 25, 1684. Roxbury.

Whereas there are three Acres of Pasture land belonging to Giles Payson, lying within the schoole Land at the Great Lotts which the said Giles Payson in consideration of his respect and affection to the free schoole and for an acquittance

from the book rent which is four shillings per Annum he doth hereby give and graunt the said Lands to the Free school to have and to hold to the Feoffees for the time being for the said free schooles use and the feoffees accept the same and accordingly acquit and discharge the said Donation for ever and have therefore hereunto set their hands.

Testes

JOHN BOWLES
JAMES PIERPONT

GILES PAYSON
JOSEPH DUDLEY
ROBERT WILLIAMS
SAMUELL WILLIAMS
JOHN RUGGLES SENOR
TIMOTHY STEVENS

OSB, 45. Dillaway, 48, in part.

1687

School House in Roxbury. Jan. 15, 1686 [i.e. 1686–87]

Joseph Dudley Esq. and Ensigne Timothy Stevens are hereby Impowered by the Feoffees to Let and sell the whole estate of Mr. Thomas Bell belonging to the free schoole in the severall lotts and Divisions thereof for the space of five Hundred years next Coming from the first day of May Next to such Tenants as are Inhabitants of Roxbury. Provided that the whole estate in the severall parcels thereof amount to Sixteen pounds per Annum and Provided the Feoffees of the free school for the Time being have Liberty of re-entrance into any part or parcell thereof in Case of Non payment of rent for the same.

J DUDLEY
ROBERT WILLIAMS
GILES PAYSON
SAMEULL WILLIAMS SENR
JOHN RUGGLES SENR
WILLIAM GARY
TIMOTHY STEVENS.

OSB, 49. Dillaway, 48, in part. Dillaway also says: "There is on file a public advertisement of intention to sell."

A lease for 500 years to Timothy Stevens and Samuel Ruggles of various farm lots made on January 21, 1686–1687, is recorded in Lib. 28, F. 167–168 of Suffolk Deeds. It was acknowledged on October 22, 1714, by Joseph Dudley, Edmund Weld and Joseph Weld. The rent was £4. Cancelled June 6, 1717.

Another lease for 500 years to John Gore for Bell's farm made on February 25, 1686–1687 is recorded in Lib. 30, F. 199–201 of Suffolk Deeds. It was acknowledged on July 30, 1716 by Joseph Dudley and Edmund Weld. The rent was £12.

1691

There is a third instance of his [John Eliot's] regards to the welfare of the poor children under his charge: and that is, his perpetual resolution and activity

to support a good *school* in the town that belonged to him. A grammar-school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston to consider "how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented;" I say, with what fervour he uttered an expression to this purpose: "Lord, for schools every where among us! That our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country!" God so blessed his endeavours, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a *free school* in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars—first for the colledge, and then for the publick—than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England. From the spring at the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the "streams which have made glad this whole city of God." I perswade my self that the good people of Roxbury will for ever scorn to begrutch the *cost*, or to permit the *death* of a school which God has made such an honour to them; and this the rather, because their deceased Eliot has left them a fair part of his estate for the maintaining of the school in Roxbury;[8] and I hope, or at least I wish, that the ministers of New-England may be as ungainsayably importunate with their people as Mr. Eliot was with his, for schools which may seasonably tinge the young souls of the rising generation. A want of education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad *omens* that are upon us.

Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, I (Hartford, 1820), 498–499.

1695

This list Containes an account of the first Range of lots in the Town's half of Woodstock land as they were drawn at a Town Meeting appointed for that end 26 April 1695 . . .

The under list Containes the number and quantity of each of the Lots of the third Range . . .

58 Free Schole of Roxbury . . . 20– Acres.

RLR, 51–53.

1696

16 March 1695/6 The Feoffees for the School of Roxbury joyntly met and unanimously chose Mr. Joseph Green Schoole-master for the year ensuing and agreed that all the donations that can be obtained together with all the rents be-

[8] Given to the Elliot School, not to Roxbury Latin.

longing to the free School in said Town be payed to him for his service.

OSB, 38.

1697

The 26th of March, 1698. [Identical entry, appointing Andrew Gardiner,[9] with this addition:] It is also agreed for this yeare ensuing schollers shall pay 2 s 0 d in money or bringe half a Corde of wood at a weeks warning of the Master.

OSB, 38.

[Receipts for payment seem to have followed this general form:] Augt. 24. 1716. Then Received of the Gentlemen Enfeoff'd with the Care of the Free School in Roxbury, The Just Sum of Seventy Seven Pounds, as my Salary for keeping said School the full Term of two years (from March 30, 1714– to March 30– 1717). I say rec*d*

per me THOMAS FOXCROFT, (Schoolmaster)

OSB, 54.

1713

At a meeting of the proprietors in Woodstock Lands held by adjournment the 19th. May 1713 wherein it was voted as follows . . .

9: That the Scool Lot be free of all charges:

RLR, 67–68.

1714

March 1, 1713/14. The same day it was by the Moderator [William Dudley] proposed to the town whether they would allow the selectmen to levy ten pounds for the better support of a grammar schoolmaster to teach schoole in the town street in as much as the rents and donations belonging to the said schoole were not sufficient incouragement for a schoolemaster, but being put to the vote it passed in the negative.

RTR, I. 276.

1715

Att a Meeting of the feoffees of the free schoole in Roxbury the 6th of September 1715 Present His Excellencye Joseph Dudley Esqre: Stephen Williams, Samll. Williams, Edward Dorr, John Mayo John Holbrook and John Bowles, They made Choice of Capt: Stephen Williams and John Bowles as a Comitte to draw up a Petition and wait upon the Generall Court—Requesting them to—Confirm the grant of five hundred acres of Land to the Free Schoole in Roxbury,

[9] Later appointments of masters differ chiefly in amounts paid, a salary being stated after 1712, when the schoolmaster stopped collecting the "donations" for himself and was paid a fixed salary.

it not being taken up by our predecessors nor known by us till now. This Grant as follows.

Att the Second Sessions of the Generall Court
Held at Boston the 16th October 1660

The Court Judgeth it Meet to Grant the Town of Roxbury Five Hundred Acres of Land toward the Maintenance of a free schoole.

Copy examined
Joseph Hillers, Clerk.

OSB, 33.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq., Captain Generall and Govenor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England etc, and to the Honorable the Councill and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled the Day of The Petition of Stephen Williams, Samuell Williams, Edward Dor, John May, John Holbrook and John Bowles Humbly Sheweth the said Free school is one of the ancientest and most famous Schools in this Province where: by the favour of God, more Persons have had their Education, who have been, and now are worthy Ministers of the everlasting Gospel, than in any, (we may say) than in many Towns of the like Bigness, in the Province, where by (Your Petitioners crave leave humbly to suggest) the said Town have deserved well of the Publick. And the Generall Court were pleased at their Session in October anno 1660, So far to consider Said School as to make a Grant of Land towards the Maintenance thereof in the Terms following, viz: "The Court judgeth it meet to grant the Town of Roxbury Five Hundred Acres of Land towards the maintenance of a Free School."

An attested Copy whereof is herewith exhibited. Which Grant your Petitioners cannot find was ever laid out, altho: they have made diligent Inquirey. And they are well assured It hath never been. Your Petitioners therefore now humbly pray that Your Excellency and this Honorable Court will please to perfect and make effectual the pious Intent on and Design of the afore recited Grant by allowing your Petitioners to take up and protract the afore Granted Trace of Five hundred Acres of Land by a skilful Surveyor with Chainmen under Oath in any Place in this Province not yet granted, at the Charge of the said School, and present a plott thereof to this Honourable Court for their Allowance and Confirmation for the Use and Benefit of the said School for ever. And the Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray, etc. Upon Reading a Petition of Stephen Williams, Samuel Williams Edward Dor, John Mayo, John Bowles and John Holbrook, Feoffees in Trust for the Oversight and Management of the free school in the Town of Roxbury, setting forth that the said free School is one of the most ancient and famous Schools in this Province, Where, by the favor of God, more Persons have had their Education, who have been, and now are, worthy Ministers of the everlasting Gospel than in any, we may say, than in many Towns of the Like Bigness in this Province, Whereby, (Your Petitioners humbly crave leave to suggest) the said Town hath well deserved of the Pub-

lick, and the Generall Court were pleased at their Session in October anno 1660, so far to consider Said School as to make a Grant of Lands towards the maintenance of it, in the terms following, Viz: "The Court judgeth it meet to grant the Town of Roxbury Five hundred Acres of Land towards the maintenance of a free School (an attested Copy whereof is herewith exhibited) Which Grant your Petitioners cannot find was ever laid out, altho' they have made diligent Inquirey, and they are well assured It hath never been. Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray to perfect and make effectual the pious intention of the former Grant by allowing your Petitioners to take up and protract the afore Granted Tract of Five hundred Acres of Land by a skilful Surveyor with Chain Men under Oath in any Place within this Province not yet granted, at the Charge of the said School, And present a Platt thereof to this Honorable Court for their Allowance and Confirmation for the Use and Benefit of the said School for ever. ORDERED that the Prayer of this Petetion be granted

Provided the Said Grant has not been satisfied and laid out heretofore, the petitioners to present their Platt for Confirmation at or before the Session of this Court in Autumn next; Provided Likewise that it be not taken up between the purchase of Moguncoy and Sutton.

Nov. 24. 1715.

Parker 31–32. Cf. *Prov. Mass. Acts and Resolves*, Appx. IV. 425.

1716

June 25, 1716

A Petition of *Nehemiah Walter*, Pastor, and *John Payson* and *John Mayo*, Deacons, of the Eldest Church in *Roxbury*, praying this Court to Remedy the great inconveniency which the School in the said Town labours under by the Leasing of the Lands, with which it is endowed, at a low Rate, for the term of *Five Hundred Years*, contrary, as they suppose, to the pious intention of the Doner. Sent down from the Board, passed on there, *viz. June* 25. 1716. Read, and *Ordered* that the Petitioners cause the adverse Party to be served with a Copy of this Petition, that they may be heared before this Court, on the First Fryday of the next Session. Sent down for Concurrence.

HJ, 117. 25.

August 3, 1716.

A Message from the Board, by *John Clark* Esq; That the House now come up to the Council Chamber, to Attend the Hearing appointed to be this Day upon the Petition of the Reverend Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, Pastor, and John Payson, and John Mayhew, Deacons of the Eldest Church in *Roxbury*, between them on the one part, and the Lessees of the School Lands in the said Town on the other part.

Mr. Speaker and the House went up, and both Parties being heard, they returned again to their own Chamber.

HJ, 127, 31.

Andrew Belcher, and *Addington Davenport*, Esqrs; brought down the Petition of Mr. *Nehemiah Walter* &c. upon which there was a Hearing this Day, with the following Vote Pass'd thereon, *viz.* In Council *August* 3d. 1716.

In Answer to the Petition of the Reverend Mr. *Nehemiah Walter* Pastor, and *John Payson* and *John Mayhew* Deacons of the First Church in *Roxbury*, the present Feoffees in Trust, according to the Will of Mr. *Thomas Bell* of *London*, Merchant, Deceased, and upon a full Hearing of both Parties.

Resolved, That the Lands and Tenements of the said Mr. *Thomas Bell* late of *London*, Merchant, Deceased, in *Roxbury*, in *New-England*, Devised by him to Feoffees in Trust, only to and for the Maintenance of a School-Master and a Free-School, for the Teaching and Instructing of Poor Men's Children at Roxbury for ever; and to, and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever; being Leased for Five Hundred Years, is contrary to the Law, and Statutes of *England*, where the Testator lived and dyed, when he made his afore-recited Will; and beyond the Power of the Feoffees in Trust in the said Will, and a frustration, in a great Degree, of the Pious Intention of the Donor; and that the full Benefit and Profits of the said Estate, be hence-forward restored, to the Petitioners, to the Uses and Intents aforesaid: Any Lease or Leases made to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Provided, That all things being duly weighed what the Estate has been bettered by the Lessees and equitable Allowance therefore shall be made according to Apprizement, of three persons of Integrity, upon Oath. Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Non-Concurr'd.

November 9, 1716.

Ordered, That a Message be sent up to the Board, Desiring, That the Petition of the Reverend Mr. *Nehemiah Walter* Pastor, *John Payson*, and *John Mayo*, Deacons, of the first Church in *Roxbury*, which was before this Court at their last Sessions, may be sent down.

Capt. *Noyes*, and Capt. *Chambers* were sent up with the Message, and returned with the said Petition.

Ordered, That the said Petition be Reconsidered.

The said Petition read. And the following Vote Pass'd thereon, *viz.*

Ordered, That a rehearsing be had thereon upon the 22*d* of *November* Currant. And that the Petitioners Notify the Adverse Party of this Order . . .

A Message from the Board by *Eliakim Hutchinson*, *Isaac Winslow*, and *Thomas Fitch* Esqrs, with a Petition of *Nehemiah Walter* Pastor, and *John Payson* and *John Mayo* Deacons, of the first Church in *Roxbury*, Praying That this Court would Reassume their Case as Feoffees of the School in *Roxbury*, in behalf of that School, which was before the Court at the last Session, and Relieve them; which they intimated was Pass'd upon at the Board this Session, before the Vote of House was sent up. *viz. Nov. 7th. Voted*, That the Petition be Dismisst, for that the Subject Matter thereof is cognizable at the Common Law.

A Message sent up to the Board by Capt. *Noyes*, and Col. *Goffe*, That this

House don't Apprehend how the Petitioners have their Remedy at Common Law, otherwise should not have Voted another Hearing.

HJ, 132–134 (35–36).

1717

June 13, 1717 writ for £300 issued against Ebenezer Gore at request of Nehemiah Walter, John Payson and John Mayo in a plea of trespass and ejectment, by Elisha Hutchinson.

Sup. Court Files, 12314.

Ebenezer Gore Yeoman Defendant vs. Nehemai Walter Minister of the First Church of Roxbury John Payson Yeoman and John Mayo Cordwainer both of Roxbury Deacons or head Officers of same Church plaintiffs In a plea of Trespass and Ejectment.

The Defendant comes into Court and Sayes that the plaintiffs their Action against him for the Lands and Premisses Mentioned In the Writ ought not be have and Maintain but that the Same ought to be barred for that the Defendant and his Ancestors Under who he Claims Title to the Premisses in Question was in quiet possession of the Lands Sued for on and before the First of October 1692 and so Continued till the first of October 1704 and from thence to this time so that by the Laws of this Province for quieting of possessions the Defendandt Saith the Plaintiff's Action ought to be barred, and of this prays Judgment.

R. Robinson, Attorney for
Defendant

Sup. Court Files, 6233.

At an Inferiour Court of Common Pleas begun and held at Boston for and within the County of Suffolk on the First Tuesday of July being the second day of the said Month Anno Dom: 1717.

Nehemiah Walter of Roxbury in the County of Suffolk Clerk, And Minister of the first Church of Roxbury, John Payson Yeoman and John Mayo Cordwainer both of Roxbury aforesaid, Deacons or head Officers of the Same Church Plaintiffs vs. Ebenezer Gore of Roxbury, aforesaid Yeoman, Defendant, In a plea of Trespass and Ejectment. For that the Defendan hath Illegally Entred into and Refuses to Deliver to the Plaintiffs the Possession of the Land and Orchard formerly called the Homestead of Thomas Bell . . . heretofore the Estate and Inheritance of Thomas Bell the elder formerly of the City of London Merchant . . . who by his Last Will and Testament . . . gave . . . unto . . . the Minister and two such head Officers of the said Church at Roxbury . . . to have and to hold . . . forever in trust only and Notwithstanding to and for the Maintenance of a School Master and free School . . . at Roxbury . . . Now the Plaintiffs in fact Say that . . . they the Plaintiffs are the Successors of the said Devisees who by Virtue of the said Will ought to be in the possession of the premisses to Execute and perform the said Trust yet the Defendant though of-

ten requested hath hitherto Denyed and refused and still doth deny and refuse to deliver to the plaintiffs the possession of the Land and premises above mentioned to the damage of the said Nehemiah Walter John Payson and John Mayo as they say the Sum of Three hundred Pounds. The Defendant appeared by Robert Robinson his Attorney and Saving his pleas in Abatement and Barr upon file which were overruled by the Court, pleaded not Guilty. Upon which Issue being joined the Case after a full hearing was Comitted to the Jury who were sworn according to Law to try the Same and Returned their Verdict therein upon Oath, That is to say they found for the Plaintiff the Land Sued for and Costs of Suit. It's therefore Considered by the Court; that the said Nehemiah Walter, John Payson, and John Mayo Qualifyed as aforesaid Shall recover against the said Ebenezer Gore the Land sued for and Costs of Suit.

The Defendant Appealed from this Judgment unto the Next Superiour Court of Judicature to be holden for this County and Entred into Recognizance with Sureties as the Law directs for prosecuting his Appeal with Effect.

2. Jury.

A True Copy as Appears of Record.
Examined per JOHN BALLANTINE Cler

A true Copy Examined per ELISHA COOKE Cler.

Suffolk SS To the Honorable the Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature to be held at Boston for the County of Suffolk On the first tuesday of November 1717

Ebenezer Gore Yeoman Appellant
vs
Nehemiah Walter minister of the first Church of Roxbury John Payson Yeoman and John Mayo Cordwainer both of Roxbury aforesaid Deacons or head officers of the same Church Appellees—

The Reasons of Appeall of Ebenezer Gore yeoman Appellant from a judgment of an Inferior Court of Common Pleas held at Boston the said County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of July 1717 Obtained against him at the suits of Nehemiah Walter Minister of the first Church of Roxbury, John Payson yeoman and John Mayo Cordwainer both of Roxbury aforesaid Deacons or head officers of the same Church plaintiff in a plea of Ejectment which Judgment was that the said then plaintiffs should recover against the said Ebenezer Gore the lands sued for and Costs of Suit which Judgment the said now Appellant Saith Is Wrong and Erronious and ought to be redressed for the reasons following. (Viz*t*)

First that whereas Judgment went for the plaintiff It ought to have beene for the Defendant (the now Appellant)

2dly That the now Appellant hath paid Rent for the said premisses to John Mayo one of the plaintiffs and has Receipts to show for the same where-

by he has beene acknowledged as Tenant to the plaintiff which Amounts to a Confirmation of the Lease granted to his Father John Gore by the Feoffees in Trust in the Year 1686.

3dly That the reason his said Father took and Entered upon the Improvement of the said lands was by reason of his Lease being for 500 years Otherwise it woud not have beene worth his pains or trouble and the Chose Inducement was that his heirs might Enjoy it after him.

4thly That as to the Appellees pleas that Colledge Leases in England ought only to be for 21 years that is in such Cases where lands have beene allready Improved and not where lands ly waste (as these did) at the time of his Ancestors taking his Lease Besides this Is no Colledge Lease but a Lease from Trustees for the Use of a free Schoole and all Colledge Leases are renewable upon paying a small fine.

5thly That Mr. Bell's will Is Express that the Benefitt which was made of his lands was to be for the Maintenance of a School Master & free Schoole for the teaching of poor mens children at Roxbury for Ever—But If a long Lease had not beene granted It would not have Beene worth any persons while to have taken it at all and then no Schoole Master woud have beene maintain'd nor Scholars taught So that thus the said will woud not have beene fullfill'd nor any future Improvement made as the Appellees woud insinuate ought to be

6thly That Whereas the Appellees say that the said premisses were lett at undervalue the appellant humbly prays your honors and the Jury to Consider that when his honored Father took this Lease (which Is now questioned) he had an Interest in the premisses by virtue of a former Lease from the Trustees of Mr. Bell's Will of nine years then to run (which had he pleas'd) he might have kept and so have liv'd upon the premisses at the rent of 8£ the annum But by agreement Between him and the Feoffees to his last lease and as a further Improvement of the said Estate And for the sake of a long Lease which altho' only for half of the said lands for quantity (the homestead indeed part of it) Yet he threw up the Remainder of his Terme in the former Lease In Consideration of the second Lease being made for a longer Terme—Inas much as he was to pay a greater Rent (to witt) 12£ the annum instead of 8£ the annum and other Tenants made up 16£ the annum.

Besides that the said Mr. Bell at the first made his bequest for the Use of the Free Schoole at the desire and Importunity of the Honorable Governor Dudley and the Reverend Mr. Elliot Deceased and yet notwithstanding the Improvement and advancement of the said Estate (all which Is owing to the prudent Management of the said Trustees) and was fairly and solemnly transacted on the day of it as did any thing of that Nature was or Could be done, the parties thereunto Being the Reverend and famous Mr. John Elliot with his two Deacons Giles Pay-

son and William Gary in Behalfe of the Church of Roxbury The Honorable Joseph Dudley Esq. Robert Williams John Rugles Senior Samuel Williams Senior and Captain Timothy Stevens as Ffeoffees of the said School and who were all of them the principal persons of the said Towne and of knowne prudence Ability and Integrity and who had the Interest of Religion and Learning in that Towne as much at Heart and who would and did as faithfully discharge any Trust reposed in them as any or all of those that came after them without any disparagement or Reflection it seems a little Unkind and unfair in the Appellees with reference to what has beene done to those lands to represent as If what these worthy persons had done were frustrating the pious Intentions of the Donor (as by a petition presented to the General Court or Assembly in May 1716 by the Appellees to the purpose may appear) and by which said petition they pray for Redress and say that there Is no other Court of Chancery in this province and therefore prays the General Court to take Cognizance of the premisses and to Exert their Authority and to pass such Act or Order as in their great Wisdome shall be thought proper to restore to the said School the full Benefitt and profitt of the said Estate. By which application to the said General Court By their own showing It plainly appears that they did not think they would have the least remedy at Common Law which made them Apply to the General Court But indeed with little Success for that Honored Court did not think fitt to grant them any Reliefe.

7thly For That the Feoffees under whose Lease the appellant claims had as much power in and over the premisses with reference to the Trust of Mr. Bell's Will as the present Feoffees (the now Appellees) can pretend to and If the former Feoffees Exceeded the Trust and power reposed in them they must answer for that in a proper time and place But certainly their Mistake (If any) shan't prejudice or defeat an honest bargaine or purchase for a valuable Consideration No more than a steward attorney or Factor in any affair shall be answerable to his principal for any acts done which he had done to his best discretion and Judgment neither shall it affect any person he acted or bargained with.

8thly For that one of the Feoffees under whome the appellant derives his title Is yett alive and all such publick Leases have been adjudged to be good during the life time of such Feoffees or Trustees. (This is a reference to Joseph Dudley, Feoffee 1670–1720.)

9thly That It would be an Unreasonable thing and against all Laws and Justice for a Towne a Schoole Feoffes Trustees or any other Landlord after he had bona fide and upon good Consideration and mature advice (as the present Case was) made an agreement and granted a Lease of lands and after near 50 yeares possession in the appellant's Father and himself and after a prodigious Charge great labour and Expenditure upon

said land (a great part of it being nothing but swamp and wilderness land) as looking upon this to be his owne Estate and for Ever free from any further or any other Charge than what was Voluntarily Entered into at the Signing said Leases) to break in upon or Destroy under pretence that It would lett for more. For at that rate there woud be no Dependance or Security upon the most Solid transactions or agreements in the World—

10th It is further to be Considered that the appellants honored Father was in possession of those lands and the Law very much favours the heir—where a Descent is Cast for this Estate has beene divided among his Children as his Estate (as well it might) and the Feoffees never pretended to object or doe anything in his life time.

11thly That the appellant and his ancestors have beene in quiet possession of the premisses sued for from the first of October 1692 to the first of October 1704—according to the Law of Limitation and have Improved the land and therefore good reason he should still hold it since the appellees have not brought this action for the possession before this time and altho' they had not a fee simple or an absolute inheritance in the land in Controversie yet the Law of possession operates upon and ought to refer as well to a Terme of Years or Terme upon long Leases as to Such as hold their lands in Fee otherwise a great Number of Inhabitants of this province with reference to their lands would be Excluded the benefitt of the said Law and particularly the Towne of Framingham who hold their lands by virtue of a Lease for 999 yeares and as this Act of Limitation Is the birth right and security of the good people of this Country every man that was in possession of lands in his own right from 1692 to 1704 as aforesaid without action brought or molestation and who and his heirs for Ever were to be quiet and to Enjoy the same and such possession to give right. Now tho' the appellant Father was not possessed of these lands during that time as of an Estate in Fee simple Yet that makes no difference in the said Law For he was possessed of them as his owne lands for a Terme of years to come and It seems very Unreasonable that after his Father Is laid in his Grave and his Children have Improved and toyled themselves about those lands that they shall be disturbed in their Just and peaceable possession after near 50 yeares quiet Enjoyment aforesaid.

12thly If Bargains Deeds and Contracts refering to land Especially of so Solemn a Nature as this was, once come to be broke in upon Nothing will or Can be Certain of that Sort, But the Country must and will be fill'd with Confusion—For all which said Reasons and what may be further offer'd upon Tryal to Your Honors and the Gentlemen of the Jury, the appellant humbly hopes that your Honors and the Gentlemen of the

Jury will see sufficient Cause to reverse the said former Judgment and find for the appellant and Costs etc.

R. Robinson Atty for Appellant

Endorsed.

Gore v Walter &C
Reasons of Appeal
Filed in the Office Octobr
21st, 1717
Att
John Ballantine Clerk.

Answers to the Appellants Reasons of Appeal

To The first Reason the Answer is that the Judgment was not Erroneous but right

To 2d The bargain was made by Three therefore its not in the power of one to Confirm or Destroy it besides they were bound by their Lease to pass to the Feoffees at the School house and in their Absence to the School Master and not be a single person

To 3d other men have thought it worth their while and trouble to Enter on lands and Improve them altho' Leased to them but for 50 years and have gott a good Livelyhood on it Especially if they had the Improvement of above 80 acres of good land with a house and Barne on it as Mr. Gore has that is the Appellant

To 4th We Answer as Colledge Leases in England ought only to be for 21 years so ought School Lands in New England to be Lett only for 21 years for we are the King's Subjects and ought to have the benefitt of the Kings Laws seeing there is no law made and provided in the Province that can help us in this Case. Mr. Bell died under the influence of this statute and his will ought to be governed by it. A Colledge is but a Dignifyed School. Inferiour Schools that have Lands to be Lett ought to govern themselves in letting them by this Law as well as Colledges Especially Considering the Lands in Controversie had been Lett and Improved many years before the Appellant's father had them leased to him and therefore were not lands that lay Wast as they would Insinuate which we are ready to prove by Evidence.

sc statute 13 Eliz Cap 10

To 5th We own that Mr. Bell's Will is Express that the benefit that is made by the lands was to be for the Maintenance of a School Master free School and teaching poor mens Children forever and therefore not for the Maintenance of Mr. Gore and his posterity principally: but that the end of the Donor could not be Obtained and that it would not been worth any persons while to have taken those Lands without

such a long and illegall Lease is an Unreasonable Assertion and the Consequence they draw from it is Absurd to Wit no School Master Maintained or Scholars taught and so forth but this can't be looked on as Reason by this Honorable Court and Jury

To 6th We answer we should not Insist much on the premisses being Lett at Such an Under Value provide that the Term of the Lease had comported with the Will and the Statute but to lett School Lands that Contain 80 Acres and ly so near ye Metropolitan for so small a rent and so long a Time can't be justified for we humbly Conceive it frustrates the end of the Doner and Crosses the Intention of the Will and Suppose the Appellants father had Interest in the premisses by a former Lease as he hints to your Honors which he says he might have kept and enjoyed the premisses why doubt he might have kept it to the End of the Terme if his Lease complied with the Statute as we suppose it might or Else not but having all these and Several other parcels of the School lands in his hand at 8£ per Annum how comes it to pass he did not keep his interest in the premisses why surely he tells your Honors himself it was for the Sake of his long 500 years lease which is a Sort of Alienation of the lands from the School to him and his Children for ever but truly his end on this Action seems neither to be Reasonable nor religious to use such an Artifice and then look upon the premisses to be his Estate as he says in his 9th reason the Appellant further Insinuates that Mr. Bell made his bequest at the Importunity of the Honorable Gov. Dudley and the Reverend Mr. Eliot (which is not proved) but Suppose it were so what was it for Mr. Gore and his heirs no Certainty for Mr. Bell ordered the Rents of this Land to be given to the poor of the Towne Long before he gave the Lands to the School as to his Suffin [?] up his Six (6th) Pretended Reason with a Needless Narrative of our Application to the Honorable General Court in May 1716 whereby he would falsely Insinuate to your Honors that it plainly appears that we thought we could not have the least Remedy at the Common Law he Misseth it as much as he does in all his long harrangue which he calls Reasons for we never doubted of Relief by the Common Law but Supposed it would be less Charge to make our Application to that than to Enter into the Common Law and truly its Apparent to the world by the Vote of the Upper House in print that the Reason why the Honorable Assembly did not relief us was not because our Cause was not righteous: but because it was Cognizable at Common Law.

7th We Answere that the feoffees of the School of Roxbury as feoffees have nothing to do to lease out the premisses only that three head officers of the Church of Roxbury are Impowered by Mr. Bells Will

to Lease out and Manage these premisses which und[er] Mr. Bell's bequest and such Officers as the Church should Charge from time to time only are concerned in it: and that for time being only: now there are Eight persons have Signed there lease only if Three Church Officers are impowered by the Will to do it which are ye Minor part of the Signers that there lease is but a blank in the Eye of the Law especially Considering the three Church Officers could Act but for time being and not for 500 years if the former feoffees Exceeded their powers this time and place is proper enough to take Cognizance of it we are not going about to Defeat any honest bargain but to Disposses an illegal Tenant who has made no purchase nor given any Valuable Consideration for the premisses yet pretends the premisses have been divided among his fathers Children as his Estate (which is a mistake for there is no settlement of his fathers Estate to be found on Record) but no man is to rob a School to Enrich his children and whereas the Appellant Says no Steward or factor in any Affair shall be Answerable to his principal for any Act done when he has done his best it is a great mistake for If he does not Govern himself by the Law and his Commission he may be blaimed and the Act that he has done be made null and void.

8thly We answer that altho' one of the feoffees is Yet alive under whome the Appellant Derives his Title yet seeing he was not one of the head officers of the Church in Roxbury and not Authorized by Mr. Bell's Will to Lease any of the premisses such Lease cannot be adjudged good in the Eye of the Law let the Leaser live as long as he will.

To 9th We answer with a Submission to your Honored Court that it is no unreasonable thing nor against any Law or Justice for a Town or Trustees to a will to break in upon or Destroy such illegal Leases as the Appellant Claims under and holds by which is so Contrary to the Statute and to the Intention of the Donor Expressed in his Will that it ought so to be destroyed that he the Appellants father looked upon the premisses to be his own Estate was a great fault seeing it was neither bequeathed to him nor purchased by him as to his talke of prodigious Charge and Expence on the Land this News wants Confirmation however it is to be Supposed the wood he has Carried off bare his Expences as to his Notion that no Transaction bargain or Agreement can be depended upon if these Leases be overthrown is a Whim, doubtless if men's bargains or agreements are Consonant to the Law they will stand firm enough.

To 10th We answere that altho' the Appellants father died in possession of the premisses yet his son may and ought to be ejected out of them

seeing the father was possessed by Virtue of an illegall Instrument neither will the Law favour the heir in this Case and though the Feoffees had not power to Object then the Trustees to Mr. Bell's will have now.

To 11th We Answere that altho the Appellant and his Ancestors have been in quiet possession of the Premisses sued for so long, yet he has not been in the Lawfull possession of them because their was an Error in the foundation and became possessed of them as only a Tenant the Law of possession will not availe in this cause for the end of that is to quiet the possession of them that possess in their own right in Fee Simple and not the possession of Tenants on Land by an illegall Lease as the Case is here Wherefore we were under no Constraint to bring our Action for possession for fear the Law of possession should shute the door of relief against Us hereafter but we did not think it proper to Commence this Suit til now for the Law of Possession or Limitation dont Opperatte in this Case as they would Suggest if it did the Inhabitants of/ Of the Province might be Exclueded the benefitt of there Lands who are Landlords for suppose a Landlord Constitute some friend his Attorney and empower him to Lease his Lands and then take a Voyage to Sea and in his Absence his Attorney Letts his Lands for a hundred years and at a low rate too and the Tenant is in possession of it for a long time say as the Appellant hints from 1692 to 1704 without Action brought or Mollestation given. what is he and his heirs now forever to be quiet and Such possession to give him right altho he does not possess it as of an Estate in fee Simple the Appellant would fain have them believe it and tells you that makes no Difference in the Law for his father was possessed of them as his own lands for a Terme of Years to come but this is very inconsistent both with Law and Reason that because my Attorney may let my Lands Contrary to my Intention and the Instruction of the Law and the Tenant has possessed so many years that the Law of possession should give the right of Inheritance to him to be Divided among his Children I believe no Gentleman of the Jury but would think these hard lines it should fall to any their Lotts and how frivilous it is for the Appellant to quote the Terms of framingham Lease of 999 years tis not a parralel Case the Gentleman that Demised or Leased those Lands was the proper owner of them and possessed them in his own right in fee Simple and might do what he would with his own because there was no Law on that Case for prohibiting him from letting his Land for as long as he pleased but as to our Case it is farr Different the Gentlemen that lett the premisses were only Trustees some of them were to be Governed by the Will and the

statute under which the Will was made. And the lands not their own but the Doners And therefore is in nowise Unreasonable to Disturb the Appellant in his Illegall possession of the premisses altho he has quietly Enjoyed it so long.

To 12th. We answere that bargains Deeds and Contracts referring to Lands that seem to be of never so Solemn a Nature if they do not Square with the Law may be broken in upon Yet many things be Certain of that Sort & the Country not filled with Confusion so that what the Appellant has said is not to the Merrit of the Cause but forrain from it he has not produced either Law or Custome to justify these doings in the premisses so that it is Evident both by the Will and by the Statute that this Possession is Illegall and they ought to be Evicted out of it because the Will gave power to none to lett the premisses but for time being which cant for 500 years and the Law is Express that of what is said in Answere to the Appellants reasons and what may be further Offered upon the Tryal to your Honours and the Gentlemen of the Jury will see Sufficient Cause to confirm the former judgment and give us Costs.

Wee the Appellees shall prove that in a Case of a Charity which is this Case the Lease is neither good at Comon Law or by Statute Law as is plain by the case of Thetford [?] School and Arnols Case in the House of Lords Adjudged & freeman & Barnes Vin [?] Reports [?] And in the Cases at Chancery *Smith & Stowell* but the Will is perverted and the profitts of the estate go to private use and Advantage contrary to the Express Intent of the Donor and nothing is more favoured in the Law than a Charity thise thing with what will be further Added being Considered the Appellees doubt not but that the former Judgment will be confirmed Agreeable to Law, Equity and good Conscience.

Ss John Vallentine the Att for Appellees

A True Copy Examined Elisha Cooke Cler.

Sup. Court Files, 12314.

1718

Gore vs. Walter. This Action was Commenced at the Superiour Court of Judicature begun and held at Boston within and for the County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday in November being the fifth day of Said Month, Anno Domini 1717. When and where the Jury found Specially in the words following. We find for the plaintiffs the Land Sued for and Costs of Suit Provided the Law in England that a Lease for publick and Pious Uses shall stand but for Twenty-one Years shall be in force here. Whereupon the Court Advised til this Term.

It's therefore considered by the Court That the Judgment of the Inferiour Court be and hereby is Reversed and the Appellant Recover Cost of Courts.

(Tried before Samuel Sewall, Chief Justice, Nathaniel Thomas, Benjamin Lynde, Addington Davenport, Edmond Quincy, Justices.)
Boston. May 6, 1718

Sup. Court Files, vol. 1715–1721, ff. 219–220.

1719

Walter vs. Gore. Plea of a Review of a plea of Trespass and Ejectment . . . This Action was Commenced at the Session of this Court in November last passed, When the Defendant appeared by Robert Robinson his Attorney and pleaded not Guilty. Upon which Issue being joyned the Case after a full hearing was then committee to the Jury who . . . returned their Verdict therein upon Oath, That is to say they find specially Vizt: The Jury find for the Plaintiffs the Land sued for and Costs of Suit provided the Common Law will not allow a Lease for Publick and Pious uses shall stand but for fourty years and shall be in force here; if otherwise we find for the Defendants Costs of Court; and from thence Continued to the Session of this Court held on the first Tuesday of May Instant under advisement and from thence to this time and after mature Deliberation It's now considered by the Court that the former Judgement be and hereby is Reversed and that the said Nehemiah Walter, John Payson and John Maho for the use aforesaid shall recover against the said Ebenezer Gore possession of the Land and Premisses Sued for and Costs of Suit.

(Tried before Samuel Sewall, Chief Justice, Benjamin Lynd, Addington Davenport, Paul Dudley and Edmon Quincy, Justices.)
Boston, May 26. 1718. M

Sup. Court Files, vol. 1715–1720, f. 18.
Gave Judgment for Roxbury School.

Samuel Sewall, *Diary*. May 26, 1719.

The 14th of July 1719 the Town haveing had Legall warning met to Consider of the Circumstances of the Estate belonging to the Free Schoole In Roxbury which att present is in the hands of Ebenezer Gore.

As allso to know the Town's mind whether the way by John Weld Junr His House should be altered. John Bowles being chosen moderator they then proceeded to make the following votes, Viz:

1). the town desire the Trustees of Mr. Bell's will to let Ebenezer Gore have the farm which is in his improvement for 21 years next Coming att 15 11 per year.

2.) It was put to vot that uppon Condition the Trustees should let the farm to Ebenezer Gore for 21 years at 15 11 per year and their should want a Further

levy for the free Schoole whether they would Consent this Levy or further Sum of money should be made uppon their Estates. It was voted in the Negative.

RTR, I. 276.

1720

Will of Joseph Dudley, dated Oct. 27, 1719, probated April 11, 1720

. . . I give to the Free-School in Roxbury Fifty Pounds to be put out to use, or to purchase Land to assist the Support of a Latin Master by the Feoffees of the Said School from time to time. This and other Legacies in this Will to be paid in that which passeth for currency in this Province.

Suffolk Wills 21, 709, and reprinted in Everett Kimball, *The Public Life of Joseph Dudley* [Harvard Historical Study XV. 202], with verbal variation.

1723

Whereas there has been some difference as to the Donation or Subscription of Isaac Morrell to and for the freeschool of Roxbury whether Joseph Scarbor who possesses one half of the homestead and Land Doned or obliged By the said Morrell and which the late Scarboro purchased of Joseph Williams late of Roxbury decesed and Abigail his wife, Should not pay Equally with Sam'l Stevens who hold the other part of the said Homestead, for the final Ending of which Difference the said Abigail Williams and her Brother John Williams together with his Uncle Mr. Sam'll William and the said Scarboro have advanced and paid the Summ of three pounds money to the said Sam'l Stevens, for and in consideration whereof the said Sam'l Stevens for him self his Heirs Executors and Administrators doth hereby Covenant with the Feoffees of the Freeschool in Roxbury and their Successors for Ever that the whole of the subscription of the said Isaac Morrell which now is six shillings per year shall be paid from time (according to the subscription) By him the said Stevens his Heirs and Assignes that succeed him in his present Dwellinghouse and Homestead and that neither the said Abigail Williams Her Heirs or assignes, the said Joseph Scarbor His Heirs or assignes shall at anytime hereafter Be obliged to pay any part or proportion of the said Subscription, But be wholly and always Saved harmless therefrom in witness whereof the said Saml. Stevens hath herewith put his hand and seal this 4th of March Anno Domini 1722.

SAMUEL STEVENS

Signed Sealed and Delivered
In presence of us
JU WALLEYE
HARBUTTLE DORR

OSB, 88.[10]

[10] Also referred to in Dillaway, 57, which reprints portions of a writ of the feoffees against Samuel Stevens of which this is part: . . . And further, the Plaintiffs in fact

1735

Roxbury, Nov. 10. "At a meeting of the Feoffees, ordered, that the parents or masters of each and every child sent to the said school, shall either send with said child eight shillings in money or two feet of good wood, and in case they do neither, the master is hereby ordered to suffer no such children to have the benefit of the fire. Provided always that this order shall not extend to any child or children who shall be exempted by the Feoffees by reason of poverty or low circumstances of the parents or master; they applying to the Feoffees for the purpose.

PAUL DUDLEY
JOHN BOWLES
EDWARD SUMNER
ISAAC WILLIAMS
SHUBAEL LOW
EBEN'R DORR

December 16. A Petition of *Paul Dudley*, and *John Bowles*, Esqrs; and five others, Feoffees in Trust for the Free School in *Roxbury*, shewing that the said Free School is supported partly by the yearly payment of certain Sums of Money, and partly by the profits of certain parcels or tracts of Land, that there is one piece of Pasture Land of about twenty acres encompassed with other Men's Lots, fronting on no road, and which lets for no more than *four pounds four shillings* per annum, nor is it like to rise; yet there are some of those that bound on it that would give *Four Hundred Pounds* for the Fee of it; praying they may have leave to make Sale of the same for the benefit of the said School, for the better support of a School Master, it being very difficulty to procure one at present, the Salary being so low. Read [and sale authorized, under restrictions to protect the money].

HJ, XIII. 165 (151). [This was not enacted into law.]

1738

August the 15th. 1738 At a meeting of the Feoffees on Said Day in order to pay Mr. Stephen Fessenden for his servis in Keeping the Scool the last year and the Scool Dues being insufishant for the same we then Borrowed and Disbursed the Severall Sums hereafter mentioned

Deacon Edward Ruggles forty Shillings	2: 0: 0
Deacon Samll Gridley Twenty Shillings	1: 0: 0
Paul Dudley Esqr. forty Shillings	2: 0: 0
Mr. Edward Sumner forty Shillings	2: 0: 0
Capt. Isaac Williams forty Shillings	2: 0: 0

say, that afterwards, by an agreement or general consent, as well of the Feoffees as the subscribers and their successors, the several subscriptions . . . were abated . . . the one half . . .

Mr. Eleazer Williams forty Shillings	2: 0:0
Capt. Ebenezer Dor. Thirty Shillings	1: 10: 0
Joseph Williams thirty three Shillings	1: 13: 0
	14: 3:0

OSB, 66.

1742

Whereas the Old School House in the Easterly part of Roxbury was gone very much to Decay, it was thought proper by the Feoffees of the Said School to Erect a New School House and with the help of many well Disposed persons by way of Subscription they did in the year 1742 Erect a new House for the Said Use for which in the Same year the Honourable Paul Dudley Esqr. was Pleased to bestow for the Use of the Said School a good handsome Bell.

OSB, 68. Dillaway, 64.

1770

At a meeting of the Feoffees . . . on Tuesday the 11th day of September Annoque Domini, 1770, at the house of Doctor Thomas Williams, present Rev. Amos Adams, Deacon Samuel Gridley, Deacon Stephen Williams, Trustees of Mr. Bell's donation; Joseph Williams Esq., Messrs. Daniel Williams, Samuel Sumner, John Williams, James Mears and Doctor Thomas Williams, Feoffees of said School.

Voted, that they would meet Thursday the 20th day of September instant, at the house of James Mears, Junr. in order to visit said School at three o'clock, afternoon, and then further to advise, and on suitable days to visit said school quarterly for the future.

Dillaway, 68, from lost original.

1783

March the 31st 1783 at a meeting of the Feoffees by adjournment Present Messrs. Deacon William Gridley Dor Thomas Williams Mr. Aaron White and Col. Joseph Williams In Expectation of Receiving an Account Currant of the rents Recieved for Bell's farm (so called) since the Decease of our Revd. Paster Mr. Amos Adams Deceased and in Sted of an Account Currant we had only a Narrative of sum part of the proceedings of the Deacons with Messrs Gore and Burrel which was not Sattisfactory and as Deacon Gridly was pleased to say he Questioned the Feoffees Right of Calling for an Account from the Trustees and was Willing it should be Tryed THEREFORE proposed and Voted that the matter be speedinly put to Tryal by Regular Course of Law and voted they would Choose a Committee to prosecure the matter and accordingly chose Dr. Thomas Williams Mr. Aaron White the Committee—and after that the Trustees Desired the feoffees would adjourn this meeting to Thursday the 3d. Day of april

next and they would Exhibit an account and they adjourned accordingly to meet at six of the Clock afternoon—and April the 3d met pursuant to adjournment and Deacon Gridley and Deacon Sumner Exhibited an account—which was to the sattisfaction of the Feoffees.

Account Book, 1783.

1785

May the 11th 1785—at A meeting of the Feoffees of the Grammer School in Roxbury, to look into the State of said School and finding the same In debt; Therefore Voted. That Col. Joseph Williams School-Treasurer be Desired to wait on the Trustees of Mr. Bell's Donation to Know the State of their Accounts and what Cash may be further Comeing from them Due the 25th of March Last.

Account Book, 1785.

1787

Novbr the 1st: 1787 at a meeting of the Feoffees to Recieve an account of the State of the Trustees of Mr. Bell's Donation respecting what Sum or Sums of money was liekly to be received from them between this and the twenty fifth of March next in order to Enable us to Discharge the School's Debts the Revd. Mr. Porter Gave in sum miniuts not acceptable to the Feoffees: Therfour Voted to adjourn the meeting unto Thursday the 8th Da of November Instant to meet again at 5 of the Clock at Col. Williams's In order to Receive an more full and Sattisfactory account of Debt and Credit from the same Trustees present

Feoffees
Joseph Williams
Thomas Williams
Aaron White
Joseph Williams Junr

Thursday. Novbr. the 8 The Feoffees met according to adjoirnment and the Rev. Mr. Eliphalet Porter and the Deacons of the Church met with them and Mr. Porter Exhibited an account of Sundry Debts Due to the School the 25th of Novbr 1787 amounting to £52: 12: 8 as also two note of hand against Gore and Burrel amount to £91: 13: 2 Burrel's note for £74:19:10 a part thereof not on Interest (as was supposed) and is Dubious ——— all which was not acceptable to the Feoffees who wished for a True State of Debt and Credit, with all the Tenants on Bells Donation from April 1783 to the 25th of March 1786 and a Just account of the outsets and repairs of fences etc. The Revd. Mr. Porter supposed they were not so accountable Decon Sumner was willing to give such an Account Decon Roe was young in office and wanted Time to consider and advise upon it: and so the Feoffees adjourned against unto next Thursday 5 of the Clock p.m. then to meet at the School house in Roxbury Street in hopes the Trustees might be sattisfied they must account to save Trouble and Charge in the law —Thursday November the 15 the Feoffees met according to adjourn-

ment and the Trustees not attending the meeting, therefore voted that Mr. Edward Sumner be Desired to Notify the Trustees once more that the meeting of the feoffees was further adjourned to Thursday the 6th of Decembr. at 5 of the Clock after noon then to meet at the School house In hopes the Feoffees may then Recieve an account Currant from the Trustees of Debt and Credit from 1783 to 1786 as before Requested—and Voted that Doctor Thomas Williams and Capt. Joseph Williams be a Committee to audit the Treasurers accounts and Report at said adjournment.—

Roxbury. Decr. 13th: 1787.

1st. The Feoffees of the Grammer School met by adjournment and the of the Treasurers (Col. Joseph Williams's) accounts Reported that it appeared he had Recd. three hundred and Ninety Nine pounds 8s 11 d and had paid out the same sum to the use of the School for Repares and by order of the Feoffess and Voted he Accordingly be Discharged of the Same Sum of three hundred N.nety Nine Pounds, eight shillings, and Elevenpence £399–8–11

2ly proposed wheather the accounts Exhibited by the Trustees to the Feoffees were Sattisfactory voted unaminously they were not

3rdly proposed wheather the Feoffees will Take sum Regular method to obtain an account of Debt and Credit from the Trustees and voted unanimously in the Affirmative

4ly Voted that a Committee be Chosen to Take necessary and legal Steps to obtain an account Currant from the Trustees

5ly Voted the said Committee Consist of Three Persons, Namely Doctor Thomas Williams, Capt. Joseph Williams, and Mr. Aaron White.

6ly Voted that measures be Taken to procure wood for the School—

7ly Voted that Mr. James Mears wait on the Gentlement Trustees to obtain Liberty to Cut wood for the School on land under there Care for the use of the School—

8ly voted that Master Heywood Direct the Schollars belonging to the School to bring and pay to him Eighteenpence each for the purpose of Cutting and Carting wood Necessary for the School—

9ly Voted that all monies arising from the Rents of all lands and other Income be paid into the Treasurer and that no money be Drawn out of the Treasury but by Orders of the Feoffees. [Eliphalet Porter had had the habit of paying bills directly, and then turning the receipts in to the School Treasury.]

10ly Voted that the accounts of the Treasurer be audited in the Month of April annually

11 ly Voted that if the Committee for obtaining an account Currant from the Trustees should advance money in said business the Treasurer be Directed to Reimburse the same to said Committee—

12 ly Voted that this meeting be adjourned to the Third Thursday of January

next and it was adjourned then (to) meet again at the School house by five of the Clock PM.

Feoffees Present with Master Heywood

COL. JOSEPH WILLIAMS
MR. JAMES MEARS
DOCTOR THOMAS WILLIAMS
CAPTAIN JOSEPH WILLIAMS
MR. AARON WHITE.

Account Book, 1787.

1788

Memorandum of Business Transacted 1788 April 24. Met at Col. Williams Voted to Excuse Coll. Williams at his request from the Trouble of School payer as Treasurer and Clark choose Dr. Thomas Williams Treasurer and Clark Directed said Clark to purchase New Book to record in. Drew two orders.

June 16 met at School House Feoffees and Trustees and a large number of the Inhabitants to Inquire why the School was Vacant could come to no Settlement with the Trustees and therefore would not open the school there being no money in the Treasury and some of the rents anticipated to pay Mr. Smith [for boarding the teacher].

June 19, and June 23, entries of payments from Eliphalet Porter and from him through Abdiel Haywood.

Account Book, 1788.

To the honourable Senate and honourable House of Representatives of the said Commonwealth in General Court Assembled, October twenty ninth Anno Domini 1788.

The petition of the subscribers inhabitants of the Town of Roxbury most respectively sheweth. That in the year one thousand six hundred and fourty five a number of our worthy Ancestors then the inhabitants of the said town of Roxbury, out of a religious care of their posterity and to promote the education thereof in future, did mutually agree to appropriate and set apart certain sums of money, and certain lands situate in the said town, the annual incomes whereof to be duly paid unto certain Feoffees and to their Successors to be regularly chosen by the said Donors and to be thereafterwards applied soley to the support and maintainance of a free Grammar School in the said town of Roxbury

That the Great and General Court of this then Province, now Commonwealth of Massachusetts on the twenty ninth day of May, One thousand six hundred and seventy were pleased, on the petition of the then Feoffees to ratify and confirm the said agreement, and to authorize and impower the said Feoffees, and their Successors to carry the said agreement into effect, and to improve the said donations for the benefit of the said School.

That Mr. Thomas Bell of London with a view of contributing to the same Be-

nevolent design did by his last Will and Testament bearing date the twenty ninth day of January One thousand six hundred and seventy one, gave unto the Reverend Mr. John Elliot, then Minister of the said Town of Roxbury; and the two next Officers of the Church there, and their successors in the said Offices forwar, all his Messuages or tenements lands and hereditaments situate in the said town of Roxbury *in trust* only to be applied to and for the maintainance of a School Master and free School for the instruction of poor men's children in Roxbury aforesaid forever.

That in the year One thousand six hundred and seventy four the Legislature were pleased to determine that the intention of the said Thomas Bell in his said last Will and Testament was the settlement of his said estate upon the free School then in being.

That in consequence of the management of the said revenues and incomes being devolved on two distinct bodies of men, denominated Feoffees and Trustees, the several Acts of the Legislature above refered to are found to be inadequate to the good purposes intended by them and attended with many inconveniences, and in our opinion require the interposition of this honourable Court wherefore we most earnest pray, as you are the Guardians of the interests of Literature and the Sciences, and all seminaries of them; that you will be pleased to take the premisses into your wise consideration and if you shall judge it expedient to repeal all the Laws heretofore made relative to the said free School and to incorporate such a number of reputable Characters being freeholders of the said town of Roxbury with such powers and under such regulations as may be necessary to carry into effect the benevolent design of our virtuous ancestors or otherwise relieve your petitioners, as to your Honors in your wisdom shall seem meet, and as in duty bound shall ever pray, etc. Moses Davis and 23 more signatures.

Mass. Archives, Docs. of Chap. 42, Resolves of October, 1788.

Ipswich Grammar School Documents

The Original Records of the Grammar School, (or as by some
tearmed, the free school) of Ipswich, with an account of what
hath been given thereunto, by the Town in Generall, o[r by]
any of the Inhabitants in particular.
In the first place it is to be Remembered, that there
was a Grammar School set up in Ipswich, in the year 1636.
But some of the more prudent and publick spirited In[ha-]
bitants, percieving; That such Children as were
usually sent to be trained up in grammer Learning, w[ere]
not like to Afford maintenance [suf]ficient for [the]
Encouragement of one to Attend s[uc]h a [sc]hool, m[oved the]
Town some yeares after, to give [so]me [Tract] of [Land within]

their precincts, to be Emproved [for the Maintaining a]
Grammer School, and that it mig[ht be put into the hands of]
Some Meet persons, as Feoffe[es to be Trusted with the]
Management thereof for such [an end to them and their]
Successors for ever, Acc[ordingly upon general]
Town meeting of the Inhabi[tants of the said Ipswich]
Held January 11: 1650, [all that neck of land be-]
yond Chebacco River, and [the rest of the ground]
up to Gloucester line adjoinin[g to it was Granted to]
Mr. Robert Payne, Mr. Wi[lliam Payne, Mr. Daniel]
Denison Captain of the trained [bands at that time, and]
Mr. William Bartholomew, for [the use of such a schoole,]
who did the 16 of January foll[owing make a lease of]
the foresaid land to Mr. John [Coggswell Jr. of the]
said town, and his heyres or Ass[igns for one thousand years,]
He or they paying yearly four[teen pounds for the use of]
the said School, to them, their he[irs or assigns.]
The said Mr. Robert Payne, about [the year 1652 purch-]
ased a dwelling house, with an house Lo[tt of Samuel Hei-]
-fer, and gave it for a Dwelling house [for the Schoolmasters]
use, that should be Called to keep the S[chool. And in the year]
following, he built an Edifice for A Schoo[l at his own]
Propper cost and charges, which was erected upon p[art of that]
Land by him purchased of the said Samuel Heifer, which was
to be ordered by Feoffees Chosen for that end.

Mr. William Hubbard gave about an Acre of Land adjoining to the said schoolmasters house, about the same time.

2 The Barn builded by Mr. Cheevers, the first schoolmaster Imployed in that school, and the orchard planted by him: was Afterwards, upon his Removall, purchased by the Feoffees of the said School, upon his Removale to Charlestown, and given Likewise to the School.

Mr. William Payn, Likewise, gave the Little Neck, adjoining to Jefferyes Neck about the same time, which was then leased out to Robert Roberts for six pound of yearly Rent to be paid to the use of the School.

Also John Cross, did give tenn shillings a year to be paid out of his farm, lying betwixt Ipswich and Rowley, to the use of the said school forever.

ISB, 1–2, supplemented by Mass. Archives, LVIII. 402–403.

1650

This Indenture made the Sixteen day of January in the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and Fifty Between Deaniel Denison, Robert Pain William Payne and William Bartholmew all of Ipswich in the County of Essex in

New England on the one part and John Cogswell of Ipswich Iw. aforesaid in the County aforesaid on the other part Wittnesseth That the said Daniel Denison Robert Pain William Payne William Bartholmew have Demised, Granted and to Farm Letten all that parcell of Land Commonly Called the neck beyond Chebacco River bounded by the Said River on the one Side and by two Great Creeks on the two other sides and from the Heads of the Creeks as it was formerly bounded upon a Streight Line from Either doth Extend within two Rods of the Line that Divideth Ipswich from Glocester bounds (which Said Land Situate and being in Ipswich aforesaid) was Granted to Daniel Denison Robert Payne William Payne and William Bartholmew by the Town of Ipswich For the Use of a Free School in Ipswich for Ever. To the said John Cogswell Jnr. his Heirs, Executors and Assigns for and During the Space of One Thousand Years next Ensuing the Date hereof to be fully Compleat and Ended Yeilding and paying therfor Yearly During the Said Term the Yearly Sum of Fourteen Pounds in Manner Following That is to Say Four Pounds in Butter and Cheese Five Pounds In Beef and Pork and Five Pounds in Corn att the Current Price they shall bear att the Dayes of Payment which Shall be Yearly the one half att or before the Fifteenth day of November and the other half on the Fifteenth day of March after All which payments Shall be made to the Said Daniel Denison, Robert Payne, William Payne and William Bartholmew their Heirs and Assigns att the Days Aforesaid att the Meeting House in Ipswich. Provided it shall be always Lawfull for the said John Cogswell to Discount so Much of the Yearly Rent as shall be att any Time (if any be) Charged Upon the Said Lands for Towns Rates but not for County Rates or Ministry Maintenance And if it Shall Happen the said Yearly Rent or any part thereof to be behind unpaid after any of the days of payment aforesaid by the Space of one Month Then it Shall be Lawfull for the said Daniel Denison Robert Payne William Payne and William Bartholmew or any of them their Heirs or Assigns to Enter and Distrein and the Distresses there Lawfully to Bear Lead and Drive and Carry Away and to Retain the the Same Untill the Yearly Rent and Arrearages be Lawfully paid and satisfied and if Sufficient Distress be not there to be found Then att all times After it shall be Lawfull for the Said Daniel Denison Robert Payn William Payne and Willim Bartholmew or any of their Heirs or Assigns Upon the Said Lands and Appurtenances to Reenter and the same to have Again and Possess and the Said John Cogswell his Heirs Executors or Assigns to Expell and put out any thing in this Indenture Contained to the Contrary Notwithstanding In Wittness whereof the Parties Aforesaid have to this Indenture Interchanbly Sett their Hands and Seal the day and year Abovewritten Sealed and Dd in Presence of Us.

Joseph Payne, Francis French John Cogswell and seal
Joseph Noyes, John Payne.

Copy Examd. Attest Saml. Rogers Cler. Feoffees.

Mass. Archives, lviii. 384.

1652

1652, Jan. 26. For the better aiding of the schoole and the affaires thereof, Mr. Samuel Symonds, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, Mr. Jonathan Norton Major Daniel Dennison Mr. Robert Paine, Mr. William Payne, Mr. Wm. Hubbard, Dea. John Whipple and Mr. Wm. Bartholemew weare chosen a committee to receive all such sums of money, as have and shall be given toward the building or maintaining of a Grammar schoole and schoole master, and to disburse and dispose such sums as are given to provide a schoole house and schoole master's house, either in buildings, or purchasing the same house with all convenient speed, and such sums of money, parcels of land, rents or annuities, as are or shall be given towards the maintenance of a schoole master, they shall receive and dispose of to the schoole master, that they shall call or choose to that office from time to time, towards his maintenance, which they shall have power to enlarge by appointing from yeare to yeare what each scholler shall yearly or quarterly pay or proportionably, who shall allso have full power to regulate all matter concerning the schoole master and schollers as in their wisdome they thinke meet from time to time, who shall also consider the best way to make provission for teaching to write and cast accounts.

Town Records of Ipswich, quoted in Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 83. This coincides in sense with a fragmentary entry on page 2 of the Ipswich Book, in which a preamble seems to recite the gist of this vote before the following entry:

(Since) some of the first Committee are Deceased, and (others) remote, by Occassion whereof, the Inhabitants (of the Town?), att a meeting Feb 18: 1661: did Nominate the (Rev.?) Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Hubbard, together with Mr. John (Roge)rs, Leaving Mr. Robert Payne, Liberty to nominate (two) more, who hath since nominated Mr. John Appleton (and) his own son John, to be added to the former Committee to make up Nine in all, which persons the former Committee do Approve, and accept and shall Readily Join, with them, In Acting according to the Trust at first committed to them.

ISB, 2.

1665

Terms of appointment of Thomas Andrews. Besides rents of the School land and use of its house and barn:—

. . . sayd Mr. Andrewes shall bee allowed ? shillings by the yeare, for every Grammar [scholle]r; but for such as are Taught to write cipher or Read English: Hee shall agree with the Parents or overseers of the Children what they shall allow yearly or otherwise As he shall think meet. If that be found insufficient incouragement more shall be allow[ed] [paid?] as need shall require.

WILLIAM HUBBARD [in the] name of the Rest.

Mr. Symonds, Major Denison Mr. Cob[bett] Mr. Robt: Payne, Mr. John [Appleton] Mr. Whipple Mr. John Payne b[eing] there present.

ISB, 4–5.

1680

A Lease of sixtie years of the Little Neck was Granted to John Pengry for seaven pounds per annum. 1680.

ISB, 10.

1683

Mr. Robert Payne's Assignment of the Lease of Chebacco Neck to the Feoffees of Ipswich School

To all Christian People to whom this Present Writing shall come Robert Payne Senior of Ipswich in New England sendeth Greeting. Whereas after severall overtures and endeavours Amoung the Inhabitants of said Ipswich for setting a Grammar Schoole in that Place, it was Profered by the said Robert that he would erect an edifice for such a Purpose, Provided it might be put into the hands of certain discreet And faithful Persons of the said Towne, And their Successors which himselfe Should nominate to be ordered and managed by them as Feoffees in Trust for that end, and their successors ~~for that end~~ forever; Provided also that the Towne or any Particular Inhabitants of the towne would devote set apart and give any land or other Annuity for the yearly maintenance of such a one as should be fit to keep a Grammar Schoole: And whereas the said Towne of Ipswich at a publique meetin[g of] the Inhabitants January 11th. 1650. did give all the neck of Land beyond Chebacco River, And the Rest of the ground up to Glocester Line Adjoyning to it to the said Robert Payne and William Payne to whom by the Desire and Consent of the said Town At the same time were added Major Denison and William Bartholemew for the use of such a schoole, And that the forementioned Major Denison, Robert Payne, William Payne, and William Bartholemew didfor themselves, their Heirs and Assigns immediately after make a lease of all the said Neck of land to John Cogswell Junr for one thousand years, he, his Heirs or Assigns paying a yearly Rent for the same of 14£ per annum for the use of the school with a power And liberty of reentry reserved to themselves, their Heirs and Assigns in case of nonpayment of the said Rent, as may more largely appear by an Indenture betwixt the said Cogswell on the one party And Major Denison, Robert Paine William Payne and William Bartholemew on the other party bearing Date Jany 16, 1650. And that also the said Inhabitants of the said Ipswich att a Publick Meeting January 26th, 1650, did add five more Scil: Mr. Simonds, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers Mr. John Norton, Mr. William Hubbard and Deacon John Whipple to the forementioned Major Denison, Robert Payne, William Payne and William Bartholemew According to the desire of said Robert Payne, all of whom they constituted and ordained As a Committee to have full power to regulate all matters concerning Sayd schoole, Masters, and Scholars as they shall see

best from time to time. And that the said Robert did in the year following Scilit in the year 1652 purchase an House with two Acres of Land belonging to it, more or less of Richard Coye as Attorney to Samuel Heyfer the propperand rightfull owner thereof for the use of the Schoole Master, And did Likewise in the succeeding year 1653 at his own proper cost and charge build an edifice for a Grammar School which was Erected upon part of the Land so purchased, And whereas Likewise some of the First Committee being deceased and some liveing remote the Inhabitants of said Town att A meeting Feb: 18. 1661 did nominate the Reverend Mr. Cobbet, Mr. William Hubbard, Mr. John Rogers, leaveing the said Robert Payne liberty to Nominate two more who hath since nominated Captain John Appleton and Mr. John Pain Elder son of the said Robert to be Added to the former committee which persons the former Committee did Approve and Accept, as being ready to joyn with them According to the trust at first committed to them and that as any other of the said Committee have deceased they have continually made up the first number by some meet Person, or Persons chosen by themselves to be the succeeding members thereof And whereas lastly the gift of the said House and Land with the edifice erected for the Schoole upon part thereof was never yet recorded in any publique Register Now know yee that the said Robert Payne for severall good causes and considerations him thereunto moveing, especially for the increase of Learning in the next Generation hath seen cause by this publique Instrument to signify And declare that as he did in the years 1653 and 1653 make the said purchase of an house and two Acres of land and erect an edifice at his own cost and charge for the use of a Gram-Schoole in the said Ipswich, so he doth hereby Ratify and confirme the same for the Aforsaid Intent and purpose forever hereby Also makeing over enfeoffing and confirming his whole Right and Interest in all the Premises viz: in the neck of land beyond Chebacco River given him with three others (who are all besides himself deceased) for the use of the Schoole, And in the said House and Land purchased and the edifice erected thereon to the Rest of the Committee yet remaining or lately chosen to them and their Heires and successors or Assignes forever, which successors shall be chosen By themselves as any shall be taken away by death, or any other way Removed, so as to be uncapable to Act in and about the Premises hereby also debarring any of his other heires hereafter or any other person whatsoever from, by, or under him from makeing claime, challeng or demand to any of the Premises Aforesaid, or any part thereof whatsoever in witnesse whereof the said Robert hath hereunto set his hand and seal this fourth day of October in the year of our Lord 1683.

ROBERT PAYNE
with his seale

Signed, sealed, and delivered
in the presence of us
DANIEL EPPS
ROBERT PAYNE, JUN
JOHN DENISON
DANIEL ROGERS

Mr. Robert Payne did Acknowledge this writeing above written to be his act and deed before me Octb 4, 1683

Samuel Appleton Assistant

Recorded in the Fifth book of Records in Folio 2682 March the twenty first, sixteen hundred eight six seven

As Attest John Appleton, Recorder

(Copy examd.

Attest Samuel Rogers Cler Feoffees

Ipswich Aprill 9t. 1754.)

ISB, 13–14. Mass. Archives, LVIII. 381–383.

1696

March 24th. The town grant the school ten acres of marsh at Castle Neck, for the house belonging to the school, "seeing it was declared, at a general town-meeting formerly upon divisions of Plum and Hog Islands, every house should have a lot."

Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 84.

After 1700

At a meeting of the Feoffees in the New Schoolhouse . . . [election of Jabez Fitch] . . . Mr. Robert Paine in behalf of the Rest having received [??] Schoolhouse from the Committee of the Town did in the Name of the Rest deliver the same to Mr. Daniell Rogers the [School]master, desiring him to remove thither as soon he could [with con]venience.

ISB, 16.

1714

[Ap]ril 1, 1714. The Feoffees had a meeting with several persons Chosen by the Town as a Committee to treat of matters relating to the School and it was agreed by all present to propose to the Town at their next meeting to Advance 25 1—for this year—

1716 and 1717

Committees appointed to negotiate terms with the Town.

1719

The Feoffees agreed to give Mr. Croker 6£ a month till November (out of the) School Rents and the Boys go free unless the Town come (to an agreement).

1720

The Town not Coming to any Agreement with the Feoffees, A com-[illegible]

it was left vacant about two months, and the Selectmen [voted] to keep up a School the Rest of the year, viz: till June, 1720.

The Town having made no proposal about the School [and] by their Selectmen acting Separately have sett up another Schoo[l] propper and necessary for us to Assert our Right and Express our [illegible] Grammar School with which were entrusted and accordingly—

Ipsw. June 21, 1720. We whose Names are [subscribed] Feoffees for the Disposing of the Rents

of A Grammar School in Ipswich. Holting it as the U[se] [illegible] Schoolmaster that have the Benefitt of the [wanting] hath been practised by the Feoffees from the begin[ning] until the present year Have Chosen and Agreed with [wanting] to be the Schoolmaster And those are to [wanting] of the Town if that they send their Children to [wanting] [pay]ing for each child after the Rent of 20 s per annum.

ISB, 17.

1722

Feb. 21 Lease to Dr. Berry of Homestead belonging to the school, and election of two Feoffees.

1750

Ipswich February the 10th 1749.

I Jonathan Wade of Ipswich in the County of Essex being the only Survivour of the Trustees or Feoffees of the Lands and Rents Set apart for the Use of the Grammar School in Ipswich according to the power Committed [to them] to Chuse and appoint their Successor in that [office] I do now hereby in my Capacity aforesaid Chuse [and] Appoint as Successor in the said office the Honble. [Thomas Ber]ry Esqr., Coll. Daniel Appleton Mr. Thomas [illegible] Major Samuel Rogers, Mr. Benjamin [Crocker].

JONATHAN WADE

ISB, 18.

1753

His Excellency William Shirley Esqre, Captain General and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England; the Honourable his Majtes: Council, and The Honourable the House of Representatives, in General Court Assembled the 5th of Sept: 1753

The Memorial of Thomas Berry Daniel Appleton Samuel Rogers and Benjamin Crocker Feoffeers of the Grammar School in Ipswich

Beg leave Humbley to Shew to this Honble: Court, that a number of well disposed Gentlemen in the early times of the Country, for the Incouragment of Learning (and before there was any Law to Oblige Towns to keep a Grammer School) were Pleased to give of their Estates, and appropriate them to the use of such a school, to be regulated by Feoffees, to be chosen and appointed by themselves Successively for the purpose aforesaid; Who prevailed on the Town, Also to make a Grant of Land for the use aforesaid to be regulated by them, who accordingly Leased out the same for the term of One Thousand years, And uninterruptedly received the Rents and took Care of the School for near one hundred years. But the Affair now Labouring under some difficultys—The power of the present Feoffees is questioned; being appointed by one, and that the only Surviving Gentlemen of the former Feoffees; So that neither your Memorialists, Constituted as Aforesaid, nor the Town (who for some years past, Have Recd: the Rents) can gett them without difficulty and Loss—Wherefore we pray Your Excellency and Honours, that upon view of the Records, You would please to take such Order thereupon, as that all the Estate heretofore Given to the said Grammar School may be secured for the valluable purposes aforesaid, in such way and manner, as to your Excellency and Honours shall seem meet and Just.

Thos Berry
Dan Appleton
Benjm Crocker
Samuel Rogers

In Council September 6, 1753 Read and Ordered that this Memorial be dismissed. Thos Clarke Dpty Secry.

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 377–378.

1754

The Committee to whom was Refferr'd the Consideration of the Petition of the Honble Thomas Berry Esqre and others to the Generall Court Relating to the School Rents and the Court's Order thereon, Report that the Following Answer be made thereto which is Submitted by Order of the Committee.

John Choate

To His Excellency William Shirley, Esqre, The Honble His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled this Twenty Ninth day of March 1754

The Answer of the Town of Ipswich to the Memorial of the Honble Thomas Berry Esqre and others Respecting the School Rents in Ipswich

Most Humbly Sheweth

That your Respondents have nothing to Object to the Subject Matter of that

Petition but Agree with these Gentlemen, that the Interposition of this Court in that Affair if not Absolutely Necessary yet would much promote the Grammar School in this Town, Tho with what propriety they Could stile themselves Feoffees Under the Present Circumstances of the Case, we Leave your Excellency and Honours to Judge, and Beg Leave to Lay before this Hon.d Court Some Reasons Why we think it would be most for the advantage of the School and Quiet of the Town and not Inconsistent with the Main Design of the Grantors of the School Lands, That for the Future the Rents be Recd. and the School Regulated by them According to Law.

1st. While it was Formerly in the Hands off Feoffees it Occasioned Great Contention in the Town but since the Town has Conducted that Affair which is Now more than Twenty Years it has been Managed in a peaceable Manner. and altho We Object Nothing to those persons that were Formerly or that Suppose themselves att present Feoffees, Yett I has a Naturall Tendancy to Jealousies and Strife in the Town.

2dly. When the School Bequests were made no Law Subsisted Obliging Towns to Keep a Grammar School as there is Now. Otherwise we might never have heard of Feoffees Either to Receive these Rents or to Regulate the School.

3dly. The Town made a Large if not the Largest part of these Donations and Some Long after the Regulation of the School by Feoffees on Which Account it may Seem Hard they Can have no Hand in Disposing and Directing this Affair, Especially if it be considered

4thly. that all the Towns Else in the Province that we Know off are Endowed by Law such Such a Trust without the Charge of Insufficiency

5thly. For that If Corruption may be Supposed it Seems more Likely to Happen in Feoffees than in the Town, in Regard that the Former are Fewer in Number and proportionably Less Interested and never Accountable but not so with the Town, Who by Law may be presented, on Neglect, beside the Approbation of the Master is Now by Law in other Hands mor Competent Perhaps than Either. Wherefore

Lastly The Good and pious Design of these Charitable Bequests will we Humbly Conceive be as Well if not better Answered by the Town than in the Other Way, the Laws nearer Kept to and Learning without Disturbance as much or more Increased—

Wherefore your Respondents most Humbly pray That the Recieving the Rents, and Regulating the Grammar School among us may be Confirmed and Continued in the Town, and that the same rents For Ever appropriated to the use of a Grammar School here may be by the Town Applyed for the future to the paying (So Far as they will Go) such Grammar Schoolmaster or Masters as they from time to time Shall Chuse and as Shall be Approbated as the Law Directs.

And Your Respondents Shall most Humbly pray &C

Att an Anniversary or Generall Town Meeting of the Freeholders and others the Inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich begun and Held March 5th, 1754 and Continued by Adjournment to March 19th, 1754, The Honble Thomas Berry Esqre. Modr. of the Meeting, The Committee to Whom was Refferr'd the Petition of Thomas Berry Esqr. and other Respecting the School Rents and the Generall Courts Order thereon Made Report and Presented to the Town the Foregoing Answer which was Read and Accepted—and

Voted that the Said Answer be Fairly Draughfted and Presented to the Great and Generall Court as their Answer, and that Mr. William Dodge be Appointed and Impowered to Present the Same In the Town's Behalfe.

Copy Exam'd Attest.

Dated. Ips. March 25th. 1754 SAMUEL ROGERS To. Cler.

Mass. Archives, LVIII. 397–398.

Photostats of the material here printed have been deposited at the Massachusetts Historical Society by the Roxbury Latin School Trustees, the Feoffees of the Ipswich Grammar School and this Society.

April Meeting, 1946

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, April 25, 1946, at a quarter before nine o'clock in the evening, the President, CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the death on April 13, 1946, of ALBERT MATTHEWS, a Resident Member. It was voted that the following resolution, prepared by Captain SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, be spread on the records of the Society:

Albert Matthews

THE Society notes with deep regret the death of ALBERT MATTHEWS, for twenty years the Editor of Publications. He set a standard of editing that inspires his successors; a standard of thoroughness that any historian might envy; a standard of courtesy that any gentleman would be happy to attain. He was always ready to place his exact scholarship and store of information at the service of any student. Among his many gifts to this Society and to his Alma Mater, anonymous like all his gifts, was the entire expense of printing and publishing Volume III of the Harvard College Records.

The Treasurer read that portion of the will of the late ALBERT MATTHEWS applying to the Society, in which he left the residue of his property to the Society, one-quarter of the income from the principal of said residue to be added each year to the principal, and three-quarters of the income to be expended towards the publications of the Society, or towards the salary of the Editor, as the Council of the Society shall decide.

The chair appointed the following committee in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, ELLIOTT PERKINS and STEWART MITCHELL.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. Allston Burr and Hermann Frederick Clarke.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., William Alexander Jackson and Allyn Bailey Forbes.

Mr. William Alexander Jackson then read a paper entitled "A Bibliophile in South America."

Annual Meeting

November, 1946

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, November 21, 1946, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on June 16, 1946, of HENRY LEFAVOUR, a Resident Member, and that on October 6, 1946, of ALLEN FRENCH, a Resident Member.

Mr. GEORGE TALBOT GOODSPEED, of Concord, and Mr. JAMES GORE KING, of Cambridge, were elected to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., read the Annual Report of the Council.

Report of the Council

SINCE the last Annual Meeting the Society has had, as usual, three Stated Meetings: in December and February, at the Club of Odd Volumes; and in April, at the house of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr. Papers were read by Messrs. Charles E. Mason, Jr., Richard Walden Hale, Jr., and William A. Jackson.

The Society has elected the following members:

Resident:

ERNEST STANLEY DODGE
ELLIS WETHRELL BREWSTER
RICHARD WALDEN HALE, Jr.
RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON

Corresponding:

HERBERT ROSS BROWN

Associate:

OSCAR HANDLIN

With great regret, I announce the deaths during the past year of three of our members:

Allen French, Resident, 1926, died October 6, 1946, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Author of twenty-six books, many of them a scholar's careful studies of the American Revolution and others transmuting laborious hours of research into stories about the Vikings and our colonial ancestors which inspired boys to share his love of the past. As footnotes in the papers of other members bear witness, his learning was gladly placed at the disposal of his friends.

Henry Lefavour, Resident, 1906, died June 16, 1946, when nearly eighty-four. Trained in physics, he discovered in middle life his true career as president of institutions of learning. President of Simmons College for thirty-one years, President of this Society (almost as soon as he had joined it) from 1907 to 1914, and eventually retiring to become President of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1938 until 1942. When he ceased his task of guiding our deliberations with "his uniform courtesy and urbanity," George Lyman Kittredge declared:

"We are thankful to our President for what he has done—still more thankful for what he has been. Under his leadership we have been happy and prosperous, and our confidence in the future is the measure of our debt."

As we meet tonight in one of the most troublous years which our nation has ever faced, except when it was threatened by armed enemies, we shall do well to remember these heartening sentences in his inaugural address nearly forty years ago:

"It was [the men of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay] who, unfettered by the traditions and restrictive influences of the autocratic and monarchical governments of Europe, found the chance here to study the real problems of society, to search for the laws and rules of human justice, and to elaborate those forms of political organization which should contribute most largely to human happiness. Their results—mistaken perhaps, in part, but largely wise—have been the foundations of our public policy, and we may well propose to ourselves the worthy task of making such studies and investigations as shall enable us to appreciate more justly the characters and motives of those men, to clarify the obscurity and confusion which surround many of the controversial points, and to secure a better foundation for future historical research.

"We are all proud that our ancestors were of and among these men; but it is not a selfish pride, rather, it is a filial devotion, which leads us to

strive, as best we may, to make their lives more effective and to perpetuate the influences of which they were the source."

ALBERT MATTHEWS, Resident, 1896, a member for fifty years, whose work was by a lamentable accident on April 13, 1946, cut short at the age of eighty-five. The published volumes of our Society contain from his pen one hundred and forty-one contributions, which throw light on the most difficult problems in colonial history, literature, and philology. And through nineteen volumes of our *Publications*, the pages unsigned by him are yet in large measure his for he was our first professional Editor, for twenty years from 1904 to 1924. Seven years later he retired from giving us twenty-nine years of his character and judgment on the Council, the longest service of anyone except Edes and Cunningham. His influence kept the Society true to her best interests, yet alert for new opportunities of usefulness.

Of Albert Matthews, too, I shall let Kittredge express what we all feel:

"The Society . . . has received many gifts from its members, but no gift that equals in value the prodigal expenditure of time, of learning, and of exact scholarship that the Editor has bestowed upon our publications. His wonderfully extensive knowledge of English and American history and literature, his accuracy, his independence in judgment, his sureness of touch, his good taste and sense of style, and his almost miraculous keenness on the trail of truant details and elusive evidence are equalled only by the modesty and tact which he has always shown, though with no lack of firmness, in dealing with the contributions that have passed under his editorial eye and through his editorial hands. 'Here was a Caesar. When comes such another?' "

To turn to pleasanter news. I am glad to speak of our oldest member, Charles F. Mason, who joined this Society with Mr. Matthews in 1896, a half century ago. The Council at its last meeting voted to extend to him the congratulations of the Society. Mr. Mason's reply alludes to his prudence in choosing life membership and to his classmate and one of our three Honorary Members, Samuel Williston. He writes in part:

"I have always had an antiquarian interest: 'Up from the meadows rich with corn' in High School days. Life member New England Historical Genealogical Society, etc., etc., and it involved no change of taste to accept the compliments of Colonial Society's membership! Prosperity isn't endless! Regards to Sam Williston, dear fellow!"

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1946.

Statement of Assets and Funds, November 14, 1946

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income	$12,375.78	
Loan to Principal	7,493.66	$4,882.12
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $134,471.39)	$132,950.28	
Stocks (Market Value $112,657.50)	85,447.62	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,180.78	221,578.68
Total Assets		$226,460.80

FUNDS

Funds	$210,128.24
Unexpended Income	16,332.56
Total Funds	$226,460.80

Investments as of November 14, 1946

BONDS	*Book Value*
$5,000 Abitibi Power and Paper Company, Limited, First 5's, 1965	$5,000.98
5,000 American Machine and Metals, Inc., Debenture 4½'s, 1959	5,062.50
5,000 American Tobacco Company Debenture 3's, 1962	5,101.10
5,000 Celotex Corporation Debenture 3¼'s, 1960	5,125.00
1,294.07 Conveyancers Realty Company Debenture 4%—2% Fixed, 2% if Earned, 1957	284.70
5,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates First and Collateral 3½'s, 1965	5,108.50
2,000 Florida Power and Light Company First 3½'s, 1974	2,175.00
5,000 Illinois Terminal Railroad Company First 4's, Series A, 1970	5,050.00

5,000	New York Water Service Corporation First 5's, 1951	5,038.60	
3,000	Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad Company General 5's, 1974	3,945.00	
5,000	Public Service Company of New Hampshire First 3¼'s, Series A, 1973	5,400.00	
5,000	Scranton-Spring Brook Water Service Company First 2⅞'s, 1976	5,125.00	
5,000	Selected Industries Incorporated Debenture 2⅞'s, 1961	5,101.10	
5,000	Tennessee Gas and Transmission Company First 2¾'s, 1966	5,201.10	
8,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, October 1, 1949	7,040.00	
2,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, November 1, 1949	1,760.00	
5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, January 1, 1950	4,350.00	
5,000	United States of America Savings Bonds, Series D, March 1, 1950	4,350.00	
10,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, July 1, 1953	7,970.00	
8,000	United States of America Defense Savings Bonds, Series F, September 1, 1953	6,376.00	
5,000	United States of America War Savings Bonds, Series F, May 1, 1954	3,930.00	
10,000	United States of America War Savings Bonds, Series F, June 1, 1957	7,420.00	
8,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds 2's, 1951/1953	8,000.00	
5,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds 2's, 1952/1954	5,000.00	
10,000	United States of America Treasury Bonds 2¼'s, 1959/1962	10,000.00	
4,000	Wilson and Company, Inc., First 3's, 1958	4,035.70	
TOTAL BONDS			$132,950.28

STOCKS	*Book Value*
75 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$12,599.76
3 shares Christiana Securities Company	8,295.00
2 5/10 shares Conveyancers Realty Company V.T.C., Class A, Common	3.13

100 shares First National Bank of Boston	4,595.27	
200 shares General Electric Company	4,766.26	
15 shares Guaranty Trust Company of New York	5,232.77	
125 shares Insurance Company of North America	7,610.27	
500 shares Lehman Corporation	16,100.03	
400 shares State Street Investment Corporation	10,239.00	
150 shares United Fruit Company	4,388.53	
100 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Prior Preference Participating 100 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation Common	6,000.00	
200 shares Westinghouse Electric Corporation	5,617.60	
Total Stocks		85,447.62
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings		3,180.78
Total Investments		$221,578.68

Composition of Funds, November 14, 1946

Sarah Louisa Edes Fund, established under the will of Henry H. Edes. One half of the gross income to be added semi-annually to the principal of the fund; the remaining half of the income of the fund shall be used towards defraying the cost of the Society's Publications other than the Transactions with certain qualifications as to the methods of publication	$62,637.57
Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees added to Principal, Gains on Sales of Securities, etc. Income only to be used for Current Expense	19,108.57
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restriction as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased in 1924 by $2,000 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00

Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund, established in 1923 under the will of Mr. Henry H. Edes as the "Henry H. Edes Bequest" to accumulate until it reached the maximum of $3,000 when it would become a permanent fund to be known as the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	3,000.00
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	8,482.10
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restrictions as to use.	10,000.00
Commutation Fund, established by crediting all commutations received from 1893 to date. Income to be used for Current Expense	8,900.00
Samuel Henshaw Fund, established in 1942 under his will without restriction as to use	5,000.00
TOTAL FUNDS	$210,128.24

CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL OF FUNDS

Total Funds, November 14, 1945			$207,717.70
Add—Additions to Special Funds:			
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund Income	$754.60		
Henry H. Edes Fund Income	183.32		
Commutation Fund	400.00	$1,337.92	
Add—Additions to General Fund:			
Admission Fees		50.00	
Profit from Sale of Securities:			
$5,000 Gatineau Power Company First 3¾'s, 1969	$23.90		
4,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	160.00		
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	93.75		
5,000 Tennessee Gas and Trans-			

mission Company First 3's, 1965	98.90		
40 shares Radio Corporation of America Common	664.82	1,041.37	2,429.29
			$210,146.99
Deduct—Charges to General Fund:			
Loss from Sale of Securities:			
$5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958			18.75
Total Funds, November 14, 1946			$210,128.24

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance, November 14, 1945			$13,223.97
RECEIPTS:			
Interest		$2,754.33	
Dividends		4,101.65	
Annual Assessments		770.00	
Sales of Publications		226.00	7,851.98
Total Receipts of Income			$21,075.95
DISBURSEMENTS:			
New England Quarterly		$2,600.00	
Editor's Salary		1,000.00	
Secretarial Expense		650.00	
Annual Dinner		464.69	
Storage		300.76	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings		137.00	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous		118.98	
Auditing Services		125.00	
Publications		236.82	
Safe Deposit Box		24.00	
Transferred to Principal Funds:			
Capital Gain Dividends Received Year Ended November 14, 1945:			
500 shares Lehman Corporation	$1,205.00		
400 shares State Street Investment Corporation	900.00		
Income from Funds:			
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund	183.32		
Sarah Louisa Edes Fund	754.60	3,042.92	
Total Disbursements			8,700.17
Balance of Income, November 14, 1946			$12,375.78

Principal Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Loan to Principal, November 14, 1945			*$9,883.22*
RECEIPTS:			
$5,000 Gatineau Power Company First 3¾'s, Series A, 1969	$5,225.00		
4,000 Iowa Southern Utilities Company S. F. Debenture 4½'s, 1966	4,160.00		
5,000 Northwestern Public Service Company First 4's, 1970	5,262.50		
5,000 Scranton Gas and Water Company First 4½'s, 1958	5,050.00		
5,000 Tennessee Gas and Transmission Company First 3's, 1965	5,225.00		
40 shares Radio Corporation of America Common	664.82		
Capital Gain Dividends Received:			
500 shares Lehman Corporation	2,500.00		
400 shares State Street Investment Corporation	2,260.00		
Sale of Rights—400 State Street Investment Corporation	90.00	$30,437.32	
Admission Fees		50.00	
Commutations		400.00	
Transferred from Income to Principal:			
Capital Dividends Received:			
500 shares Lehman Corporation	$1,205.00		
400 shares State Street Investment Corporation	900.00		
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	183.32		
Sarah Louisa Edes Memorial Fund Income	754.60	3,042.92	33,930.24
Total Receipts of Principal			$24,047.02
DISBURSEMENTS:			
$5,000 Abitibi Power and Paper Company, Limited First 5's, June 1, 1965		$5,000.98	
5,000 American Machine and Metals, Inc., Debenture 4½'s, July 1, 1959		5,062.50	
5,000 Illinois Terminal Railroad Company First 4's, Series A, July 1, 1970		5,050.00	

5,000 Scranton-Spring Brook Water Service Company First 2⅞'s, March 15, 1976	5,125.00	
5,000 Selected Industries, Incorporated, Debenture 2⅞'s, April 1, 1961	5,101.10	
5,000 Tennessee Gas and Transmission Company First 2¾'s, April 1, 1966	5,201.10	
25 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,000.00	
Total Disbursements of Principal		31,540.68
Loan to Principal, November 14, 1946		*$7,493.66*

James M. Hunnewell
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended November 14, 1946, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

Allston Burr
Hermann F. Clarke
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr.
Vice-Presidents Hon. Fred Tarbell Field
Hon. Robert Walcott
Recording Secretary Robert Ephraim Peabody
Corresponding Secretary Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Treasurer James Melville Hunnewell
Registrar Robert Dickson Weston
Member of the Council for Three Years Samuel Eliot Morison

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Professor Myles Dillon, Messrs. William B. Harvey, David McCord and Cameron Thompson. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

After the dinner Mr. MCCORD read some of his poems, and Captain SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON addressed the Society and its guests.

December Meeting, 1946

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 19, 1946, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, JR., in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on December 13, 1946, of ALFRED L. AIKEN, elected a Resident Member in 1920 and transferred to Corresponding Membership in 1926.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. GEORGE TALBOT GOODSPEED and Mr. JAMES GORE KING accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The President announced the acceptance of the resignation of Mr. ALLYN BAILEY FORBES as Editor of Publications after fifteen years of faithful service, and the appointment of Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL as Editor in his place.

Mr. EDMUND S. MORGAN read a paper entitled "The Puritanism of Michael Wigglesworth," which evoked a lively discussion among the members present.

Mr. GEORGE P. ANDERSON then submitted to the meeting additional information which he had found regarding Dr. Thomas Young, which corrected some of the data in the "Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731-1777," read by Mr. HENRY H. EDES at the December 1906 Stated Meeting of the Society.

Mr. MORGAN submitted to the Society for publication:

The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth

INTRODUCTION

The Author

WE have been discovering in recent years that the Puritans were much more human than we had once supposed. We have investigated their foibles and follies and found that they had the same human weaknesses as ourselves. At times we may even have regarded

them as rather hearty, warmhearted creatures after all, in fact very much like our own hearty, warmhearted selves. Whenever we begin to think of the Puritans in this friendly, pleasant manner, which flatters both them and ourselves, we sooner or later have to reckon with a man like Michael Wigglesworth. The grim pages of his *Day of Doom* have long been familiar to students of American literature. The diary that is now presented is even more challenging than his verse to any liberal view of the Puritans. For the man that emerges here calls to mind those stern figures in steeple-crowned hats who represent Puritanism in popular cartoons. So closely does Michael Wigglesworth approximate the unhappy popular conception of our seventeenth-century forbears that he seems more plausible as a satirical reconstruction than he does as a human being. One is driven by his own words to picture him as a gross anachronistic caricature, exaggerating everything that subsequent generations have found distasteful in the Puritan. His very name, to anyone not familiar with its illustrious history, must suggest a caricature, and the suggestion is sadly borne out by the diary and supported by all that can be ascertained about him.

His biography, as we know it from other sources than the diary, is appropriate. He was one of the first settlers of New England; he attended Harvard, the Puritan college, and taught there for several years (during which he wrote most of this diary); he became a minister and spent the greater part of his life preaching Puritanism to the people of Malden, Massachusetts. He wrote a poem which his fellow-Puritans bought by the thousands in order to read in vivid figures about the Day of Judgment. In keeping with the crabbed figure of the cartoon, he was a sickly man, always complaining of ill health; throughout a large part of his life he was an invalid. Yet he fathered eight children, outlived two wives, and had married a third when he died in 1705 in his seventy-fourth year.[1]

The pattern was not an uncommon one among the first generation of New Englanders: Harvard, the ministry, the ripe and respected old age. Against this familiar backdrop the diary fills in the lines of the caricature with heavy strokes, until the Puritan emerges as his worst enemies would have him, a man with great capacity for survival—but with small reason for wanting to survive. Was the Puritan a killjoy? Wigglesworth thought that all pleasure apart from delight in God's grace was dangerous. His heart was "sunk with sorrow" when he found his students at Harvard indulging in merriment. Thus he wrote on June 25, 1653:

[1] Further details of Wigglesworth's biography may be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and in John W. Dean, *Memoir of the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth* (Albany, 1871).

I set my self again this day to wrestle with the Lord for my self and then for my pupils and the Lord did pretty much inlarge my heart in crying to him. But still I see the Lord shutting out my prayers and refusing to hear for he whom in special I pray'd for, I heard in the forenoon with ill company playing musick, though I had so solemly warn'd him but yesterday of letting his spirit go after pleasures. (p. 346)

Since the students at Harvard could not fail to display a certain amount of animal spirits, this type of experience continued to sadden the teacher's heart. On one occasion he gave a delinquent student a long lecture on the dangers of pleasure, and yet "that very evening," Wigglesworth confided to the diary, "he was again at play . . . and when he saw me coming he slinked home and left his game whereby I gather that he is more afraid of me a poor sinful worm than of God and I am sorry that so solemn a warning and so efficacious for the present should have lost its power so soon." (p. 346) Wigglesworth had no appreciation for the humor in situations of this kind, and he suffered the most innocuous pranks of his students with a ludicrous air of mourning. When he heard some of his admonitions "with derision reiterated among the scolars," he solemnly sought comfort in his Maker. (p. 358) And when the students displayed a not incomprehensible reluctance to study Hebrew, he saw in their intractability "A spirit of unbridled licentiousness," and exclaimed, "Lord in mercy heal, or I know not what wil become of New England." (p. 386).

If worrying would have saved New England, Wigglesworth would have saved it. One of the most revealing passages in the diary is the one where he records his almost ridiculously painful deliberations about a neighbor's door swinging back and forth in the wind.

The wise god who knoweth how to tame and take down proud and wanton hearts, suffereth me to be sorely buffeted with the like temptation as formerly about seeing some dores blow to and fro with the wind in some danger to break, as I think; I cannot tel whether it were my duty to giue them some hint that owe them. When I think 'tis a common thing, and that 'tis impossible but that the owners should haue oft seen them in that case, and heard them blow to and fro, and that it is but a trivial matter, and that I haue given a hint to one that dwels in the hous, and he maketh light of it; and that it would rather be a seeming to check others mindlesness of their own affairs, and lastly that there may be special reasons for it that I know not; why the case seemeth clear that 'tis not my duty. yet I am sorely affraid I should regard iniquity in my heart, and god upon this ecclypseth the sweet beam's of his love, he hideth his face and I am troubled. (p. 390)

Wigglesworth worried not only about his neighbors' doors but also, of course, about their souls. He found his spirit "quite discouraged and soul

and body both ready to quail, because of my sorrows for what mine eyes daly behould in others sins and mispence of their precious hours." (p. 348) He resolved "to do more for christ than I haue done by reproveing lightness and mad mirth on Sabbath Evenings and by visitings." (p. 385) He even became so concerned with saving the souls of others that he found it necessary to reprimand himself for having, as he said, "a greater desire of others finding christ than of my own." (p. 383)

In strange company with this solicitude went an unrestrained selfishness, which is revealed in a remarkable series of reflections on marriage. Wigglesworth evidently believed that he was suffering from gonorrhea and accordingly had some doubts about whether or not he should marry. His doubts arose, however, not from any concern for his bride-to-be, but from an apprehension that marriage might impair his own health. The factor which finally determined him to marry was the advice of a physician that marriage might prove beneficial, instead of detrimental. And he recorded his final resolution in words which deserve a place in Bartlett: he resolved "to redeem the spring time for marrying or taking physick or both." (p. 404) The sad sequel is that his bride died four years after her marriage, from what cause is unknown.

His crass behavior in this episode never gave Wigglesworth any pangs of conscience, but he was by no means free from a morbid feeling of guilt for other offenses which we should probably consider entirely innocuous. Guilt, in fact, seems to have been a necessary feeling to Wigglesworth. The diary served as a kind of account-book in which he rendered up the assets and liabilities of his soul, with the debit side of the ledger receiving almost all the entries. It was not that he ever behaved in a scandalous fashion outwardly; his outward behavior was doubtless exemplary. But Wigglesworth knew that man never achieves righteousness in this world. He knew that within him lay all the guilt of Adam, and he took pleasure in abasing himself for his sinful heart, for his pride, his over-valuing of creature comforts, his neglect of God. The automatic result of the daily examination of his soul was the conclusion that he was a vile worm, indeed the "chief of sinners."

The modern reader of these pages will find it hard to believe that Wigglesworth was the chief of sinners; the frequent protestations of guilt may even strike one as a pose, almost a literary formality, but it is undeniable that the man expresses a feeling of guilt, whether merely formal or not, on virtually every page of the diary. And in many cases where more specific statements are made, it is apparent that the feeling had deep roots. A psychologist might even find that Wigglesworth was obsessed with guilt to the

point of neurosis, for one of the accusations which he most frequently levelled against himself was a lack of natural affection for his father. And at one point he makes a confession which some psychologists at least would find highly significant: he says that he finds himself secretly glad at his father's death.

We should scarcely be exaggerating, I think, if we described Michael Wigglesworth as a morbid, humorless, selfish busybody. In this diary the ugly and somewhat absurd, somewhat pathetic figure of the caricature comes to life, a Roundhead to confirm the last prejudice of the Cavalier. And yet historians in the past two decades have been at some pains to erase this very caricature. The popular picture of the Puritans, it has been shown, is grossly overdrawn, for Puritanism did not exclude the enjoyment of the good things of life. The Puritans read books, wrote verses, and had their pictures painted. They were unashamedly fond of beer and wine and even of more ardent spirits. They liked to eat well and live well and made no pretensions to asceticism. They were not prudish; they made no attempt to stifle natural passions in celibacy. They were men of the world, able to deal equally well with an Indian, a Royalist, or a seidel of beer.

How then are we to interpret Michael Wigglesworth? Was he simply an anomaly, one of those eccentric killjoys who can be found in any society? There are surely good reasons for regarding Wigglesworth as exceptional: he never enjoyed good health, and his bodily weaknesses may have been responsible in large measure for his morbid state of mind; furthermore his preoccupation with his father's death suggests that he may have had some psychological disorder. But to dismiss Wigglesworth as an unhealthy anomaly is to condemn him without a trial. He did, after all, teach at Harvard College; he did serve as minister to a Puritan congregation; and he did write for New England the most popular book of his time. In his own day no one accused him of heresy or eccentricity. Grant that he was exceptional, which he certainly was, the question by which his significance and the significance of his diary should be determined is this: did his singularity constitute a denial, or an intensification, of Puritan values? Was he exceptionally Puritan or exceptionally unpuritan? For Puritanism unquestionably made rigorous demands on those who subscribed to it. The fact that Michael Wigglesworth, as revealed in the diary, does not look like the average New Englander of the seventeenth century may mean simply that he accepted the demands of Puritanism more wholeheartedly than most of his countrymen.

To affirm, then, that Wigglesworth was exceptionally and emphatically Puritan is not to cast doubt on what historians have been saying for the

past twenty years, but it is to suggest that the popular caricature may be closer to the central meaning of Puritanism than the friends of New England sometimes like to suppose. Although the popular view fails to do justice to the Puritan; although it neglects the strength of his conviction, the integrity of his purpose, and the breadth and subtlety of intellect with which he defended himself; although it overlooks the fact that he was, after all, a human being, nevertheless it does emphasize the distinctive features of Puritanism as they now appear to a hedonist world. If the cartoonist could study and understand Puritanism in all its complexity, he would probably still draw the same cartoon. For the mark of the Puritan was not his human warmth but his zeal, his suspicion of pleasure, his sense of guilt; and it is these qualities which are satirized in the popular caricature. Michael Wigglesworth, who appears to be a living embodiment of the caricature, was distinctly and thoroughly a Puritan. If we measure him by the precepts of the Puritan preachers, it will be apparent, I think, that his sense of guilt, his hostility to pleasure, even his minding of other people's business, were not the anomalies of a diseased mind but simply the qualities demanded of a good Puritan.

To consider the last, most objectionable quality first, did Wigglesworth's concern with other people's sins represent merely the tedious petulance of a busybody, or was it the expression of some fundamental part of Puritan belief? In the light of the social and political theory expressed by virtually every articulate Puritan, one cannot escape the conclusion that Puritanism invited, or rather demanded, active coöperation from every member of society in the eradication of sin. It was held up as a sign of regeneration that a man should reform his friends and neighbors. The true convert, Thomas Hooker explained, was one who sought to destroy all sins. "What ever sins come within his reach, he labors the removal of them, out of the familyes where he dwels, out of the plantations where he lives, out of the companies and occasions, with whom he hath occasion to meet and meddle at any time." [2] The obligation of the convert to reform those around him was grounded in the covenant by which God sealed the salvation of his elect. "If God make a Covenant, to be a God to thee and thine," John Cotton pointed out, "then it is thy part to see it, that thy children and servants be Gods people." And again, "when we undertake to be obedient to him [God]," we undertake not only "in our owne names, and for our owne parts, but in the behalfe of every soule that belongs to us, . . . our wives, and children, and servants, and kindred, and acquaintance, and all that are un-

[2] Thomas Hooker, *The Application of Redemption* (London, 1659), p. 684.

der our reach, either by way of subordination, or coördination."[3]

In a place where every serious person was engaged in persuading himself of his own conversion such doctrine was probably sufficient in itself to create a community of busybodies. But the desire to produce evidence of one's own conversion was not the only ground of zeal for the morality of others: The Puritan believed that the outward prosperity of every social group rested upon the prevention of sin among the members. Quite apart from his individual relationship to God through the covenant of grace, every Puritan partook of a more external, social relationship with Him through the societies to which he belonged, through family, church, state, and in Wigglesworth's case, the college. Every social institution existed for the Puritan by virtue of a special covenant with God in which the members had promised obedience to the laws of God.[4] Consequently every Puritan was bound to obey God not merely as a sanctified man (in order to prove to himself that he was saved) but as a member of every group to which he belonged. If he failed, he not only demonstrated his own damnation, but he brought the temporal wrath of God upon his family, upon his church, and upon his state. Thus we find Wigglesworth exclaiming over his sins, "ah Lord! I pul down evils upon others as wel as my self. Sicknesses, death of godly ones, wants, divisions have not my sins a hand in these miserys? oh Lord I am affraid of thy judgements upon my self and others." (p. 401) These ideas penetrated to every level of society in New England. In 1656, the year in which Wigglesworth accepted a call to preach at Malden, a miserable girl, laboring under the name of Tryal Pore, who had committed the sin of fornication, confessed to the Middlesex County Court that "by this my sinn I haue not only donn what I can to Poull doune Jugmente from the lord on my selue but allso apon the place where I liue."[5]

In view of these beliefs Wigglesworth's zeal for correcting sin is entirely understandable and entirely in accordance with the strictest Puritan doctrine. Since the whole group had promised obedience to God the whole group would suffer at the hands of God for the sins of any delinquent member. Manifestly every member must coöperate in avoiding such a fate. Incessant and universal vigilance was the price of prosperity. It was as if a

[3] John Cotton, *The Way of Life* (London, 1641), p. 91; *Christ the Fountaine of Life* (London, 1651), pp. 33-34.

[4] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind. The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), pp. 365-491.

[5] Records of the Middlesex County Court, Cambridge, Mass., folder 28, group 5 (manuscript).

district occupied by a military force were given notice that for any disorder the whole community — innocent and guilty alike — would be penalized. Every Christian society had received such a notice from God, and its effect upon the godly members, of whom we may account Wigglesworth one, was an extraordinary zeal for bringing others into the paths of righteousness.

A thorough selfishness was by no means inconsistent with this kind of zeal. When the Puritan sought to reform his neighbor, he had no altruistic, humanitarian goal in sight, but simply the fulfillment of his own personal promise to his Creator and the prevention of public calamities in which he himself would be involved. Even Wigglesworth's selfishness in the matter of marriage does not set him off from his contemporaries. All the evidence indicates that marriage in the seventeenth century was a business transaction to which the haggling over dowries and settlements gave more the air of an economic merger than of a psychological union. The Puritans, to be sure, regarded the relationship of husband and wife as one in which love should predominate, but the love was a duty which came after marriage, not a spontaneous passion which preceded it.

In his sense of guilt Wigglesworth likewise exhibited the frame of mind that was expected of a good Puritan. When Anne Hutchinson lost her sense of guilt and declared that God had cast her loose from the bonds of sin, the orthodox members of the Massachusetts government banished her. No one, they felt, could escape from sin in this world, not even in Massachusetts; and anyone who thought such a thing possible was either insane or in the hands of the devil or both. Thomas Hooker, sometimes considered more liberal than other Puritans, advised his readers that "we must look wisely and steddily upon our distempers, look sin in the face, and discern it to the full." The man who could take such a full view of sin could hardly be a happy human being, for according to Hooker he would be one who

> hath seen what sin is, and what it hath done, how it hath made havock of his peace and comfort, ruinated and laid wast the very Principles of Reason and Nature, and Morality, and made him a terror to himself, when he hath looked over the loathsom abominations that lie in his bosom, that he is afraid to approach the presence of the Lord to bewail his sins, and to crave pardon, lest he should be confounded for them, while he is but confessing of them; afraid and ashamed lest any man living should know but the least part of that which he knows by himself, and could count it happy that himself was not, that the remembrance of those hideous evils of his might be no more.[6]

[6] Thomas Hooker, *The Application of Redemption* (London, 1659), pp. 53-54.

Few persons in any time could exhibit a feeling of guilt as strong as that which Hooker here demands. The fact that Wigglesworth did attain something like it is a sign not of eccentricity but of orthodoxy.

If we examine, finally, the sins of which Wigglesworth most often finds himself guilty, we arrive at the origin of Wigglesworth's hostility to pleasure and at the central meaning of Puritanism as Wigglesworth exemplifies it: the belief that fallen man inevitably estimates too highly the creatures and things of this world, including himself. Pride and the overvaluing of "the creature," these are the sins of which Wigglesworth accused himself almost daily, and these are the sins involved in enjoyment of the senses. The Puritan was not exactly hostile to pleasure, but his suspicion was so close to hostility that it often amounted to the same thing. A man might enjoy the things of this world, provided that he did so in proportion to their absolute value, but since their absolute value was insignificant when placed beside the value of their Creator, the amount of pleasure that might lawfully be drawn from them was small indeed. It is not surprising therefore that Wigglesworth seldom recorded specific actions in which he had displayed too high a sense of his own or of the creature's value. The sin did not lie in the action itself, but in the estimate which was placed upon it, as when he found himself too happy with having one of his sermons well received. His sins were sins of attitude, sins of judgment, sins of a will which had been debilitated and corrupted by the original fall of man. They were not particular sins but the essence of sin itself. For sin to the Puritan was not simply the breach of a commandment; it was a breach of the order which God had ordained throughout all creation, an order which was inverted by sin and restored by grace. The Puritan God had created the universe to serve His own glory, but He had directed that all parts of that universe, except man, should serve him only indirectly—through serving man. As long as man remained innocent in the Garden of Eden, so long did man enjoy dominion over the creatures and direct communication with his Maker. But sin had inverted the order of things and turned the whole creation topsy-turvy. As one Puritan minister put it, "Man is dethroned, and become a servant and slave to those things that were made to serve him, and he puts those things in his heart, that God hath put under his feet."[7] The only remedy was return to God through Christ, a return which would be completed at the last day and which would be partially consummated here and now through the operation of saving grace. "If sin be (as it is) an aversion or turning away of the soul from God to something else besides him . . . then in the work of grace there is a conversion

[7] Urian Oakes, *A Seasonable Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1682), p. 27.

and turning of the soul towards God again, as to the best and cheifest good of all."[8] Again and again Puritan ministers warned their listeners that "the onely sutable adequate ultimate object of the soul of man is god himselfe," that "all true christians have Christ as the scope and End of their lives," that "no creature that is finite, can be the end of the Soul nor give satisfaction to it."[9] Thus, in recognizing that he placed too high a value on the creatures, Wigglesworth was recognizing that in him the divine order was still inverted. No matter how often he told himself that God was the supreme good to which all else must be subordinated, no matter how loudly he called upon God to make him believe, he could not help overestimating himself and the world.

In this undeviating scrutiny of his own corruption Wigglesworth was probably not a typical Puritan, as he was not a typical human being; but he was closer to the ideals of Puritanism than were his more warm-blooded contemporaries who indulged the flesh and enjoyed the creatures. In the pages that follow he has left the record of a mind which had the strength to digest what seems to us a bitter doctrine. The document has none of the chatty gossip that has made Samuel Sewall's work so widely known, nor does it have the effusive facility of Cotton Mather's diary. Wigglesworth's meditations are neither pretty nor pleasant, but they are, I think, emphatically, uniquely Puritan.

The Manuscript

The diary of Michael Wigglesworth has been transcribed from the original manuscript in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society and is here printed in full for the first time, with the kind permission of that society.

The manuscript is a small bound volume containing 160 unnumbered pages. The first 132 pages (pages 322 to 419 of the present edition) are a personal record kept by Wigglesworth from February, 1653, to May, 1657. For the first fourteen months the record has been kept fairly regularly from day to day or at least from week to week, but subsequent entries are spasmodic, with numerous gaps of several months each. At page 132 (page 419 of this edition) the record ends; the writing at the bottom of this page is inverted and is the last of a number of entries which begin at the other end of the volume. These entries are miscellaneous in character, consisting principally of declarations of religious experience, apparently

[8] Richard Mather, *Farewell Exhortation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1657), p. 20.

[9] From John Hull's manuscript notes of sermons in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

made before the congregation of Wigglesworth's church by persons applying for admission. In the present edition this second part of the volume has been printed continuously with the first, so that page 419 corresponds with the first page at the back of the manuscript.

Although the greater part of the volume is written in longhand, there are numerous passages, varying in length from a single word to several pages, of shorthand code. In the diary proper the longest of these passages is less than a page, but in the second part all the statements of religious experience have been recorded in shorthand. The code which Wigglesworth used was that of Thomas Shelton,[10] a rather complex system, which provided separate characters for all the letters of the alphabet (though vowels were usually indicated by the positions of consonants), for the principal syllables, and for 268 common words. In this multitude of symbols, many resembling each other, the meaning of any character depended much upon the context in which it appeared. Even at best the code is difficult to decipher, but Wigglesworth further complicated it by introducing many original characters of his own. Consequently in a number of places, six in all, the manuscript has proved undecipherable. None of these places, however, contains more than a few words.

Except in these few undecipherable areas shorthand passages have been expanded and written in modern English spelling. The original punctuation, which is indicated in the code by special symbols, has been preserved, and in the longhand passages both the original punctuation and the original orthography, excluding abbreviations, have been retained. Abbreviations have been expanded, except in the case of words which are normally abbreviated today and in cases where the word abbreviated is doubtful. Where punctuation is missing but obviously needed, the end of a sentence has been indicated by a blank space of three ems. Shorthand has been indicated by italics.

The preparation of the manuscript for the press has been greatly facilitated by a grant from the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

[10] *Tachygraphy. The Most exact and compendious methode of short and swift writing that hath euer yet beene published by any. Composed by Thomas Shelton. Author and professor of the said Art. Approued by both Vniversities.* London. Printed for Samuel Cartwright. 1641.

THE TEXT

If the unloving carriages of my pupils can goe so to my heart as they doe; how then doe my vain thoughts, my detestable pride, my *unnatural filthy lust that are so oft and even this day in some measure stirring in me* how do these griev my lord Jesus that loves me infinitely more then I do them? Do I take it heavily that my love is so lightly made of? ah! lord Jesus how fearful is my despizing of thy dying love, of thy love in giving me thy self after thou seemedst to haue cast me of for ever? ah! I cannot love thee, not fear to sin against thee, although thou exercise me with such crosses, as again this day, wherein I may read my owne ill carriages toward thee. And dost thou yet make any beam of thy love break out toward me, after any fears? Nay have so oft and so long comforted my self with thy love amidst my daily sins. The enmity and contrariety of my heart to seeking thee in earnest, with my want of dear affection to thee, these make me affraid. but thou did giue me thy self in the Lords supper, thou dist giue me a heart (though vile) to lay hold of the desiring all from thee. and this giues me hope. blessed be thy name.

Pride and vain thoughts again prevail over me to the grief of my god. clense me, o lord, when shall it once be? I had opportunity (purposely takeing of it) to discourse with one of my pupils much of the things of god; as also with another out of the colledge whom I went to visit, who spake something to me about his spiritual condition, the lord helping me to speak much to him again with some affection: the Lord bless it to them both. *My pupil was John Haines.*[1] *I spoke to them both what a blessed thing it was to serve and seek the Lord.*

7th peevishness vain thoughts and especially pride still prevails in me. I cannot think one good thought, I cannot do any thing for god but presently pride gets hould of me. but I feel a need of christ's blood to wash me from the sins of my best dutys and from all that deadness of heart, and want of spirit for god this day. I find my heart prone to take secret pleasure in thinking how much I do for others' good: but Lord how little of it is done for the. I fear there is much sensuality and doting upon the creature in my pursuit of the good of others; I cannot seek gods glory therein but am carry'd most with pitty to man. else the Lord would hardly cross me in my endeavours and hopes: were it not to shew me, that both my labours and those persons whom I haue greatest hopes of are also vanity. Lord why is my soul glutted

[1] John Haynes, son of Governor John Haynes, graduated from Harvard in 1656 and returned to England, where in 1668 he became rector of the church at Swansey in Essex.

so with my owne projects that I oft times feel little need of thy self *Small cause then to be proud of the love I bear to these which thou hast given me when by love to them I cease loving of thee.* Lord heal this wound this day.

This Sabbath I found both my naturall strength and spirits somewhat low, and my spiritual affections very dead. Both in the forenoon and after I found remarkable experiments of my owne blindness when god withdrawes: being not able to understand some truths delivered especially afternoon I was almost quite nonplus't about the trinity but beseeching the lord to open mine ey's I soon saw in some measure the truth both before noon, and afterward at which I stuck before. And here god heard my prayer. Innumerable vain thoughts crowded in upon me this day, and I find it utterly impossible to overcome them my self, I cannot for my life withdraw my mind from an unsutable object it is so forced upon me: but ah! I am oft slouthful and lay down the weapons of my warfare and do not fight, cry strive as I should against them. the dispensation of so waighty a truth as that, he that beleiv's not is condemn'd already seem'd to me too scholastically exprest and not with vehemency sufficiently prest, so that I could not but undervalue. At noon I found fretting prevail over me, though upon gods day that others could not understand my words: although my lord bear with my dulness, and take pains himself to teach me. o for this I desire to hang down my head with shame before god. I neglected also to speak to some whom I heard profanely laughing aloud Lord forgiue this neglect. Sabbath 13

Now that I am to goe out into the world I am affraid, nay I know I shall lose my heart and my affections, I can do nothing for god receiv nothing from him but tis a snare unto me. why Lord thou art the guide of my youth into thy hands I commit my spirit, thou art my whole trust giue me to make the soe continually, let me walk in the light of thy countenance all the day long catervatim opprimer iniquitatum multitudinibus ipsiss. hoc die. 14 (2d)

Pride I feel still again and again abounding, self-admiration, though destroying my self daly. god gracious and bountifull in bestowing in directing me and mine, but I unthankfully wickedly making gods gifts subservient to my vain glory. ah Lord I am vile, I desire to abhor my self (o that I could!) before the for these things. *I find such unresistable torments of carnal lusts or provocation unto the ejection of seed that I find my self unable to read any thing to inform me about my distemper because of the prevailing or rising of my lusts. This I have procured to my self. God hath brought this to my eye this day Thou hast destroyed thy self but in me is thy help Lord let me find help in thee though I have destroyed my self by my iniquity* 15

16 4th day. 3 speciall times pride remarkably prevailing in me. besides passionate distempers inwardly prevail. vain thoughts *carnal lusts some also.* I feel my self unable to beat into my heart any great affection of sorrow or shame for my pride: ah Lord harden not my heart from thy fear. oh lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, for in thy favour is my life.

17 I took a good deal of time this day to look thorowly into the vilenes of that sin of pride. And see that which might make me go mourning all my dayes, yet I can find little heart breaking for it, nor power against it. I found my spirit in a troubled perplexed sunken frame this day, propense to fretting: yet so sensual and mind so full of vain thoughts, as I could not get my heart into a praying frame. a little at length the Lord did breath this evening, and giues me to see, the riches of his love continued, though I continue my provocations. And oh that I could se still more of my owne vileness, and the sweet louve of my gracious god, whom woe is me I abuse.

The last night a filthy dream and so pollution escaped me in my sleep for which I desire to hang down my head with shame and beseech the Lord not to make me possess the sin of my youth and give me into the hands of my abomination. I find both pride in speciall so monstrous prevalent again and again this day, and vain thoughts together with wearines of the length of dutys in the morning, also sensuall outgoings of heart or proneness thereto, and so to crossness and peevishness, slighting of others, lashing out in too much eagerness of spirit in discours, dishonouring god and shaming my self thereby; in a word my heart and words and actions go wholy out of frame, and voyd of any thing of god, that I see my sin is aboue measure sinfull; I loath my self, and could even take vengeance of my self for these abominations. yet I feel, a stone in my heart that knows not how to melt. but I fly to a mediator laden with sin, oh Lord make it a hevier load to me. I despair of ever pleasing god by my endeavours in the world: my whole hopes are in thee for pardon, for power according to thy promiss. I am thine, I seek thee I trust in thee, suffer not mine enemies, thine enemies to triumph over me.

I had some burden upon my spirit and was in some measure laden with my sins before meeting but this is my misery I find that at the Public Assembly when attending upon God where I should get the greatest good my sense of my sin and misery is most worn away so that its with me as with him at the pool *when I am come thither why I have none to put me in nay I lose my sense of my need of going in. Vain thoughts and pride at noon pride at night cause me to loath and abhor my self Behold I am vile* behold I am vile *what shall I say* to the o preserver of men why hidest thou thy face from me, why dost thou let lose my sins upon me? I would mourn but cannot, I would forsake them and overcom them but cannot. Lord saue me, I am thine. a dead proud, froward,

filthy heart make me an abhorrence to my god and a burden to my self. Lord for thy Covenant sake eas me of this body of death.

on the 2d *day* vain thoughts in holy dutys principally molested me. vexation and rebuke the Lord still increaseth and casts shame upon me, by suffering some of mine to bring shame upon the society;[2] or at least to divulge our shame. *Also pride prevailed and that to the speaking somewhat too slightly on the President's going against the fellows in John Stone's business.*[3] *For both which I desire to be humbled*

On the 3d day prevailed in me pride vain thoughts and inordinate outgoing of my spirit in pleading about things like to come and at a great distance. Some what of that spirit came in delightedness of old to feed my self with vain fantasms of things never like to be from which Lord deliver me.

Pride exceeding prevailed on the 4th day. And also too much going out of the heart in hopes on curing the distemper of body by the use of some contrived means. Want of love to God and delight in God. I haue found more sensible weakness of body and pressure by the spleen and flatulent humours this week than for so oft together this winter before. god still crosses outwardly, and I meet with vexation and rebuke. yet pride and vain thoughts are too hard for me, and I find my self too weak to make resistance. ah! Lord hast to my help: be thou my defence and the stay of my soul, for all others fail me. why art thou as a man astonisht that cannot saue? make thy face shine upon me; so shall I rejoyce in thy saluation. teach me thy way's (for I see my blindness) thou wilt lead the blind in a way they haue not knowne.

Deal not with me according to the pride this day exceedingly again prevailing over me. *Some filthiness escaped me in a filthy dream. The Lord notwithstanding.* the lord notwithstanding. enlarged my heart in prayer in the morning in private; and again breathed some sweet affection into my heart in reading of his word at night also spake to my personall sins in Exposition in the hall. Let not your heart be troubled. &c. I find that when things go cross with me, then am I sunken in spirit and disquieted. when I haue hopes of doing or obtaining good, my affections are taken up with that, so that it is very hard for me to set my heart upon god himself and not to rest in the creature, or else to be restless and disconsolate: although I see god is as willing to haue me come into his presence, and to satisfy my soul in sweet communion with himself, and infinitely more willing, than I am that any of them I loue most should be near me, and that I could be (Feb. 25 26 6./7)

[2] By "the society" Wigglesworth probably means Harvard College.

[3] John Stone, possibly the son of the Reverend Samuel Stone of Hartford, graduated from Harvard in 1653 and shortly thereafter returned to England.

communicating the greatest good unto them, which certainly is one of the main things I desire upon earth at present: the want of this on their part griues me, and vexeth me daly. how then do I grieue the spirit of my god, in that I will not come to him, who desires to giue me life? who is therefore forced to vex and trouble me in the creature, to make me seek joy and comfort in himself. Ah foolish wretch that wilt be placing thy hope where thou hast so oft seen 'tis not to be had! ah sensuall spirit, that art so avers from savouring the things of god, his grace his will, his ordinances,! that cannot feed upon the heavenly manna and be satisfy'd, but when creatures fail thy heart fail's: when creatures smile god is undervalew'd. teach me at length, o Lord, to feel a continually [*sic*] necessity of god in christ. deliver me from pride, my cruel taskmaster thou hast giv'n me some comfort in beleiving this week, from that ground because thou hast made thy word efficacious to me given me an effectuall call a personal call, a clear call taking away all my objections, and bringing up my spirit to gospel termes: assure this to me yet more, enlarg my desires after it.

I am affraid of those vile frames of my heart viz. a carnall spirit that cannot relish and savour the things of god that can feed upon my owne hopes or endeavours, letting god and christ ly by and not make christ my life. also of slouth that cannot away with the paines required in dutys, in warring against sin. this makes me sometimes weary of divine services: sometimes neglectiue of my spirituall war against sin. Lord I am now going to the pool o do thou put me in and heal me. Lord remove my unbeleif which makes that I cannot Expect redemption from my prevailing corruptions in this world: and that I think is one thing that makes me more earnest for others than for my self because I can beleiv god is willing to justify, but cannot see that he is as ready to sanctify

I found god in the forenoon mightily affecting my heart in publick prayer in the assembly: also awakning my heart and stirring up fear within me. Mr. Dunster[4] preaching to the purpose that when god hides his face and melts a people for their sins why they are left helpless and heartless under his hand. out of 64 Isaiah 7. After noon god pleased to giue some affection and to warm my heart a little with the loue and grace of christ coming and dwelling amongst us. yet in the fore part of the sermon I found my spirit so distracted *with* vain thoughts and so disquieted within me, because one of my pupils was ill and absent from the ordinances, that I could not attend to the word, I could not cry for help scarcely to heaven nor see the evill of those impatient disquietments yet I desir'd a heart to

[4] Henry Dunster was president of Harvard from 1640 to 1654. He was forced to resign when he abandoned the orthodox Congregational belief in infant baptism.

cry for help, and the lord set me free at length from them. yet sundry times this day pride prevald over me. And some fears because I feel not loue to god as I should, but more loue to man, least I should loue man more than god. I am laden with a body of death, and could almost be willing to be dissolved and be with christ free'd from this sinful flesh, saue that I fear my state and haue some misgiuings; yet I desire to be made sincere, what is amis lord amend! assure me of thy loue that I may be prepared for life or death

Again I find my spirit disrested, and my studys my spirit finds some- 2d/28
somewhat sapless; I would now take up my rest in god, yet cannot assure my heart of his love, so as to be prepar'd to dy the lord onely can speak it to my heart, and deliver me from that sensuality (that can overrelish the creature, but not tast sweetness in god) from that pride, and those vain thoughts which all this day prevail in me. Lord suffer not thy poor prisoner to perish by the Corruptions which I see and cry out against which I would hate and loath more, but cannot.

Annus Novus
1653

March//

this morning god let in some comfortable perswasion of his love to me. 1
yet after vain thoughts prevail'd in holy dutys: and Pride in all my actions. shame devours all my labours, in stead of admiring god I admire my self. for this I loath my self. And I am affraid of that deadness of affection to godward, and those loose straglings of my soul unto other things, so that I haue not power to relish the things of god, not power to cry to him. out of a deep dungeon father I groan to the of this cursed, feared malady. let it not be in vain that I desire help, and would cry but cannot.

This day was brought news of that dreadful disaster at Boston by fire;[5] 2
which came to pass the very night before Mr. Mitchels[6] lecture concerning god['s] judgements, and how abused they aggravate sin. thus god seals his word with his dreadful works. my heart was much affected and dejected within me upon deep thoughts of these things and what I had heard god speak to me in his word, (for he met with sundry of my sins and gaue

[5] The fire destroyed eight houses and was afterward known as "the great fire" until the fire of 1676 superseded it for that distinction. See the letter of John Endecott to John Winthrop, Jr., in Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, 4th series, VI, 155.

[6] Jonathan Mitchel graduated from Harvard in 1647 and three years later succeeded Thomas Shepard as pastor of the church in Cambridge.

dreadful examples of gods judgments that should haue warned me from them) yet affterward, o amazing prodigious, overpowering prevalency of wickedness,! pride again, and again most fearfully after all those shakings, awaknings, and almost sinkings of spirit, discovered its power over me. ah Lord! my king, my god, thee thee I provoke, and wert thou not a god indeed, infinite in thy grace fire and brimstone, or a flood of wrath had seized on me long ere now. why hast thou not pluck't away from me by some sad stroke my dearest ones? am I better, nay how far am I viler than they to whom thou hast done this. my want of watchfulness against or my bouldness to vain thought I am affraid of. I haue sin'd I fear in the Salem business, against god and man, in not coming clear with Cambridge first, in saying I was not ingaged to any others.[7] I haue sin'd also in not being serious enough in prayer to god for guidance in it, untill I now be call'd to Boston about it. god may justly leav me, and put me to shame for my sin, and not pitty me because I find both to day and formerly a spirit that cannot sutably pitty others in misery.

/5 I still find abundance of pride, and more regarding what man thinks of me than what gods thoughts are of me. And much distracted thoughts I find arising from too much doting affection *to some of my pupils one of whom went to Boston with me today*. I feel no power to love and prize god in my heart, my spirit is so leavend with love to the creature. this frame I am affraid of, this I desire to mourn under. yet god leavs me not without some shakings and visitations of his spirit in his ordinances this day Mr. Sherman[8] preaching at Boston upon that, quench not the spirit. I desire to make god my rest when creatures I see fail. I desire to be asham'd that I thus requite the lord to dispize him who dispizeth not me but comforts me, when all comforters for sake me.

6. Pride principally prevailing

7. Vain thoughts in holy dutys, peevishness of spirit against man, and impatience towards god, in reference to my pupils, finding all my pains so fruitless for their spirituall good, disquietment of spirit hereupon ariseth; and my vile heart would rather stay and comfort itself with projecting other means for the future, than betake it self to god for the present. Lord pardon, Lord heal these distempers. Lord shed thy love abroad in my heart, inflame me with loue to thee again, giving hope and assurance in beleeving, and patience in waiting thy pleasure for doing good either to me or

[7] At this time Wigglesworth was preparing to assume the ministry of a church. Apparently he had considered a proposal from the Salem church at the same time that he was negotiating with the church in Cambridge.

[8] John Sherman, educated at Cambridge University, came to New England in 1634 and in 1647 became minister of Watertown.

mine. harden not my heart from thy fear and love. I am affraid because I feel so little love to the. where are those sweet breathings of thy spirit which some times I haue found. O restore to me the sence of thy favour which is better than life. Let me see my endeavours in my place accepted of thee in Christ Jesus, though I cannot yet see any comfortable effect they produce. in the Lord Jesus alone I present them to thee. and my self to thee in this thy approaching sabboth.

Mr. Mitchel preacht twice to day upon 1 John. 14 and we saw his glory. 1
Now woe is me! that I cannot see christs glory, I never find my heart more carnall, and my eys more blind that I cannot behold and feel a present excellency in christ, than when his glory is display'd before me. my love to christ is gone and all savour of his sweetness in a manner, so that I may with trembling fear the vileness of my owne heart, when christ is most to be seen. ah Lord my rock, and my fortress whose glory I have seen, who hast bin my stay when other things failed: blind not my eys, withold not the outshinings of thy favour, the creatures do fail, o why cannot I feel that satisfaction in thy self that sometimes I haue found? why hides thou thy sweet face, and witholdest thy spirit of supplication also, that I cannot mightily cry after thee. Verily thou art my father: though my spot be not the spot of thy children, witness my dayly sensuall glutting my heart with creature comforts, witness this days pride and vain thoughts that overrun my soul (I am not able to think a thought aright) yet art thou my father, thou hast found me when lost, comforted me when destressed, assisted me when unable to do thy will, thy visitations preserv my daly decaying spirits, thy right hand upholds me. why restore to me the joy of thy salvation; caus thy face to shine upon me and I shall be saved. Put the spirit of a child into me and constantly maintain it, for I fade as a leaff and my iniquitys like the wind take me away.

Vain thoughts break in upon me. My soul cant get over a disconsolate troubled devoted frame in reference to my pupils and other troubles concerning Ah Lord let me see thy face that will fill up all my emptiness and the dissatisfaction I find in the creature. I wait and oh that I could long for thy salvation O where are thy tender compassions and bowel mercies which I have been comforted with when low O hide not thy face from me O thou that hath delivered my feet out of the miry clay O thou that hath brought me out of the iron furnace to whom I have sung songs of praise.

O wretch that I am my iniquity like clay and fetters holds me down that the 3d. 4/
good I would do I cant the evil I would not do that do I. Nay I feel my heart apt secretly to give way to my vain thoughts in holy duties and glued as it were to my sensuality or love to the creature full of hope since and cant get over sinking and dis-

quietments of spirit (because things go not well with my pupils) and as for pride why it overcomes me in holiest duties where there should be most abasement The Lord has given me several opportunities of grace more than ordinary this week as one lecture and two private meetings but my heart at both was so vile that I may even be a burden to my self.

5th/ Very much pride yet prevailes, and hypocrisy: my bodily strength ffails me so that I can scarce do any thing, but in assaying am a weariness to my self. my sins are too hard for me: my desires in reference to my journey[9] are crost: expectations fail all is vanity. why Lord withold not now thy grace and good spirit, giving patience under thy hand, that I may be willing to miss this opportunity and still to bear my infirmitys, till thy time come when thou wilt commaund health. o assure me of thy love, and then I know all shall work for my good.

These petitions the Lord heard in part, giving me some measure of content to goe or stay. And after all this he graciously prosper'd me, I still continuing my endeavours after a horse. Some comfort god gaue me in himself finding my love to man not rewarded with like love again: he helpt me to rejoyce in the testimony of a good conscience, and looking to him not to man for reward of my labours. he kept my heart this day somewhat nearer to him than ordinary. yet both this day pride, and the next day pride and vain distracting thoughts molested me in holy duty's. *I find my spirit so exceeding carried with love to my pupils that I cant tell how to take up my rest in God Lord for this cause I am afraid of my wicked heart Fear takes hold of me. God assisted me so to speak to my pupils this day that I could hardly utter my self without pouring forth tears though notwithstanding I desire to look up to the Lord and wait his time for a blessing upon it and in the mean time oh make thy face shine upon me and be thou my saviour Suffer me not suffer me not O my God to dote upon the creature wherein is nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. Show me thy glory O my God*

Mr. Dunster preacht today about the thorny ground. god was pleased to set in and awaken my heart, and fear seiz'd upon me because I found that the cares I had for the good of others, and my affection to them, and my selfseeking therein, had got into my heart and drunk up my very spirit and stoln my heart from god: and these thorns do overshadow the seed of the word so that I cannot see the glory of god and christ, by reason of seeming excellency in these things. But upon search I find, that though thorns do thus grow, yet I disallow them, and would fain pull them, but cannot, I do resist them and strive to take up satisfaction in god, though I find little. I find god has bin my daly rest (as it were) in whose bosom

[9] A journey to New Haven (see p. 331).

alone I haue found repose when forlorn of the creature. In the Afternoon. I heard 22 ezra 2 ult. Marks to examin by whether we make breaches, or make them up. Concerning some of them I haue the testimony of a good conscience bearing witness for me: that I most fear that I haue lost my first love, which thinge provokes god to come against the place where I liue as a theef in the night.

Innumerable evils compass me about, and prevail against me, wherefore I am affraid and asham'd and unable to see god still loving me with an everlasting love. I find so much of my spirit goe out unto the creature, unto mirth, that there is little savour of god left in my soul. the creature and thoughts and cares about it get so into my heart, that I cannot get my thoughts free for god in prayer in the hall. much impatient disquietments do (will I nil I) get mastery over me having sent to Boston this morning timely, and hearing no answer before night. God crosses me in very faithfulness to meeken me and teach me submit to his will, and let out less affection unto what I haue in hand, for which I magnify his name; yet I am affraid of my own vileness: vain words also or jesting I fear my self guilty of. oh who know's the errour of his wayes. yet Lord pardon, for christ's sake and return refresh my soul with thy loving kindness early. so shall I know that thou even thou onely art god and good, and that there is none besides thee.

March the 23 I came to New Haven being upon my journey from tuesday after noon to Dedham, unto Wednesday the next week at night. I preacht my first sermon at Pequit[10] by the way 32 Deuteronomy 9./ Much difficulty I found in my journey, my back and brest almost shak't in pieces with riding. in my pain and anguish I lift up my heart and voyce to the lord my god, and he helpt me through the difficulty, giuing me so much strength as enabled me to bear it. We were lost the first day and rode above an hour within evening: god brought us to a house where we had a guid to our desired place. near pequit we were lost and past through craggy dangerous way yet god kept us and all [that] belonged to us; and brought us safe notwithstanding the rumours of the Indian plots.

this sabbath I found much inlargement in private dutys, yet pride thereupon prevailing, which I desir'd to resist and loath my self for. I find vain thoughts and a vile heart ready to giue them lodging, slow to se and feel any evil in them. a slouthful frame that cannot away with taking pains in seeking god in resisting sin, but ready to giue way to it. And there is also a carnal heart that cannot savour the things of god, but whoarishly departs from him. what impressions and tasts of himself god leavs at present are

[10] New London.

soon gone: this makes me exceedingly affraid of my self and my owne spirit of whoardoms. these things open a gap to unbeleif; I am ashamed to lift up mine eys to heaven and call god my gracious father, my onely portion, seing I deal so unworthyly with him; in my trouble saying arise and save me; noe sooner deliver'd but lightly esteeming the rock of my salvation; soe deaded in my affections toward him, that when I come nearest to him in publick ordinances, then is my heart apt to be furthest from him thus am I chaned down under my boults and fetters, and cannot so much as lift up one living desire toward god at some times: if at any time I do why how soon vanish they? thou hidest thy face Lord; and I am troubled, my soul is troubled within me. thou witholdest thy spirit and my strength is gone, I haue no might but become even as another man. weak as water. Lord I haue no might nor strength, thou art my hope, be thou my helper, who never faylest them who trust in the. I am unworthy of mercy, let that ashame me. thou art worthy to bestow mercy let that incourage me. I beleiv Lord help my unbeleif which is great; there is help with thee for unbeleif for the most devilish distempers as I heard this day out of matthew 17.14. 15. 16. 17 &c. Lord I am thine, save me. I am asham'd that I walk as if I were not thine. pardon me in the blood of the everlasting Covenant.

Grievous fears were again stirring in my [*sic*] and disquieting my heart upon that awaking lecture sermon calling upon us to awake from sleep and stand up from the dead, from dead works.

On thursday morning the Lord was pleas'd to give me somewhat a heart-breaking meditation of him. so that I thought and will the Lord now again return and embrace me in the arms of his dearest love? wil he fall upon my neck and kiss me? for he was pleased to giue in some secret and silent evidence of his love.

But ah wretched backsliding heart! what evil hast thou found in god that thy love and affection to him are so quickly could? that thou secretly departest from him not savouring the things of god, going awhoaring in thy desires after vanity's, seeking thy self, like an empty vine bringing forth fruit to thy self? I abhor my self before the Lord for my shameless pride, especially now when god is abasing me. I am ashamed of my apostatizing heart of unbeleef in departing from the living god, to whom in my distress I am ever crying arise and saue me: I am affraid of my want of natural affection and pitty to my afflicted parents.

Mr. Hook[11] preaching out of 3 Jeremiah 22. 23 Return ye backsliding children &c. Lord I see I am a grievous backslider daly revolting from

[11] William Hooke preached at New Haven from 1644 to 1656, at which time he returned to England and became a domestic chaplain to Cromwell.

thee in heart and life, going awhoaring loosing my first loue; insomuch that I cannot at some times I cannot gasp and pant after the communications of thy departing spirit. why I ly down in my shame, before thee if thou wilt return no more, why 'tis but what I deserv; yet Let me plead with the for thy owne name. *Hast thou not led me with thine everlasting love and therefore drawn me Can thy love be changed Can my sin make the faith of God of none effect.* dost thou not say return and I will heal your backsliding why I come unto thee thou art the Lord my god. in vain seek I comfort elsewhere O let me *find* it in thy self.

I think I never had my folly so uncased, as since my coming home, both in my indiscretion in taking on me so perplexed and chargeable a journey, in every point whereof much rash inconsiderateness and resolvedness upon it though to great disadvantage appears. And in sundry other respects god makes my father an instrument of so discovering my weak and silly management of every business, that he makes my savour to stink in my owne nosethrils. this he did most eminently this week immediately after a proud fit of my owne. God abaseth the proud! My heart as 'tis asham'd of my self so it swells against my father, and cannot conceiv such things to proceed from loue, because that covers a multitude of infirmitys, but this rakes them open to the bottom. but whether he be to blame or no; surely I am, in causing such things and in looking so much at man in the reproving them with discontent. I know my self guilty in the former I suspect my self in the latter Lord pardon both, heal both for thy mercy sake. I am affraid of my secret whorish outgoings of spirit after future contrivances, and that my heart bears up it self so much on them. I condemn my self for deadness and hypocrisy and weariness in holy dutys. father condemn not thou me, but forgiue, and heal my backslidings. renew a right spirit within me. Asher shall not saue me. men and creatures present or hoped for cannot, shall not satisfy me and feed my soul. o do thou communicate thy sweet self who hast made me more glad than the wicked when their corn and oil increaseth. Where are those sure abiding mercy's of david? those pleasures at thy right hand for ever more? o hide not thy face from me! Withold not thy good spirit though I deserve it. heal my languishing soul pitty and cure my frail body. I cannot muse of thee and mourn after the as I should do without overthrowing my bodily health. thou commands me for health sake to be cheerful. lift up the light of thy countenance, that I may have cause to be so: season me with the savour of thy spirit that I may not grow loose and licentious hereupon. fit me for, and bless to me thy approaching sabbath.

April 17 18 19 I was somewhat dejected with some feares in the forenoon and was not got clear of them in the evening of the sabbath, having heard Mr. Davenport[12] preach how and what a winter christians indeed might goe through both in respect of grace and comfort. my daly decayes of love to god and savour of the things of god, this prophane loos heart that is weary of watchful attending upon god in holy dutys fills me with fears of my owne estate. chewing upon such cogitations I thought that if god would not saue me at last, yet there was something that pleased me in this, that my Lord should haue glory in my damnation: Hereupon I reflected upon my self, saying and whence hast thou any such indearedness of affection to christs glory? can thou desire his glory without some dram of love to him? canst thou love him except he loved the first? then has god indeed loved the with an everlasting love? this somewhat reviued me. I further mused: Can the hypocrite delight himself in the Almighty as I have bin (through mercy) inabled to do when all other helps and hopes haue fayled me? the scripture propounds the querie, as who should say he cannot. yea but I cannot at the present find that heart peace which sometimes I haue done in god. my hopes and expectations quite fail in the creature; my heart is bent to seek it in new contrivances, but I know they are vanity; and I would seek it in god, but I cannot find it there: nay I am weary soon of attending upon god in prayer and meditation that I might find it: this makes me affraid of my owne vile heart, and that enmity against God: off that daly pride which I find again and again prevailing, and common unsavoury spirit. but Lord my god my King, my father I haue put my trust in thee to change my vile heart and in thee I will yet trust, I am vile and fals-hearted, o that I could mourn for't! thou art faithfull and true, thy mercys inhaustible, everlasting. for thy name sake come in and giue me some sweet soul ravishing communion with thy self, that I may know 'tis not a vain thing to seek thee; Let thy visitation preserve my decaying spirit.

The Lord was pleased very particularly to speak unto me and my condition on the last lecture day by Mister Davenport. Concerning my finding my spirit then most content from God and dead when I should draw most near to him. His counsel was then to cry to the Lord Jesus for help for some leastwise gave up most through want of spiritual watch.

On the fast day Mr. D out of 55 Isaiah 6. shewd how the prayer of fayth seeks god himself more than any particular good from god. being conscious to my self how little I could desire god himself and further communion

[12] John Davenport was one of the founders of the New Haven Colony and pastor of the church there until 1667. In that year he accepted a call to the First Church at Boston in circumstances that occasioned a schism in the First Church and the founding of the Third Church.

with him than I had attain'd, nay that I haue oft such fits of prophaness that I can se little or no bewty in god and communion with him, nor so much as cry to heaven against that plague: my soul was exceedingly affraid and brought to the dust before god, and great doubtings of my estate both yesterday morning and again today morning. but it pleas'd god in some measure to scatter them: when I consider how god did clearly once and again draw me to his son for all good though I could find none in my self: then making with me a Covenant wel ordred in all things and sure, which therefore remayns though I cannot find such sensible qualifications in my self: which I desire bitterly to bewayl before god, yet whilest I liue I will not let him goe. But moreover I appeal to god himself the searcher of hearts to see whether, there be or haue been no prizing god aboue other things. what then means my restlessness after sin committed untill I haue made my peace with god: or if that be from fear of punishment rather than loue to thy self Lord, yet what meanes that substantial soul-content that I haue found in thy self when creatures haue fayled, and which I never found any where but in thy self. what means that assurance upon this ground given me at Harford, the same being again and again sensibly experienced at Cambridge before my admission into the church? what is that gives me support when creatures frown? is it not thy smiles? when I cannot receiv what I desire from thee is it not that I haue all in thee, and that thou art mine who art better than all? Away then unbeleef and soul-sinking discouragements. I cannot maintain indeed my prizing thee as I should, my seeking after thee as I would. but this prophane heart of mine and my proud heart, are they not my plague thou knowest they are a terrour to me, and make me so to my self. And wilt not thou deliver from this plague when I cry? why Lord remember thy Covenant to redeem me from all iniquity, and hear my prayer, the prayer of thy poor prisoner, and answer my request which is according to thy will. Caus thy face to shine upon me for the Lords sake. *I sought the Lord also this day for health that I may be able to glorify him in my place and so for guiding me in point of settlement.*[13] *I shall wait what God the Lord shall speak in answer to my cry*

On the 6t day which was the next day after the fast: God let me se the prevalency of a multitude of abominable sins in me. As 1: weariness of Gods service; in which is great unbelief, though god haue said 'tis not a vain thing to seek him: great unthankfulness for such a gracious opportunity which the damned would prize at a high rate: great slouthfulness that cannot away with taking pains in constant seeking god vizt spirituall worship. 2. peevishness and impaciency, though god were patient and bore long my

[13] Settlement as minister of a church.

dulness nay aversness to learn of him now groundless anger makes me giue place to the Devil so that my spot is not the spot of Gods children: 3. Affirming that for truth which I doubt or am not certain of; now who is the father of lies? 4. want of natural affection to my father, in desiring the continuance of his life *which God ranks among those sins whereto men were given up of God to a reprobate mind.* Lord why hast thou caus'd me to er from thy wayes, or hardened my heart from thy fear? 5. *Want of honoring my mother yea slighting of her speech now the eye that despises his mother the ravens of the valley shall peck it out and the young ravens shall eat it. Lord I cant stand before thee because of these abominations. Against thee I have committed them not obeying thy holy rules though thou didst redeem me for thy self to thy service. Nay 6ly I find again whorish desertions of my heart from God to the creature.* it pleas'd god to make me earnest in prayer both that evening and the next morning for pardon of them for Jesus his sake and for power against them according to gods Covenant to redeem me from all iniquity. *Christ came to redeem poor prisoners* Lord I am prisoner to my sins, chain'd down by them so that I cannot lift my feet to thy testimonies cannot prize the and communion with thee. but what I do I allow not. 'tis sin in me therefore, not I. deliver me from this body of death for I betake me to the onely: and such as come to the thou wilt not cast off. such as labour and are heavy laden thou wilt eas.

The Lord is very urgent with backsliders to return (out of Jeremiah 3. 22. 23.) I see my self guilty of daly backslidings from god cooling affections to him, and whoarish outgoings of heart after other things. I fear my pupils formerly, and now my eas and slouth and pleasure are getting oft between christ and me; prophaness of heart and spiritual slumber which is a not savouring of the things of god, and a secret remissness in my spirituall watch, these frequently surprize me, though god be frequently jogging me by his ordinances and providences and will not suffer me to take any long and quiet sleep, but scarrs me with the terrible apparitions of my owne vileness: blessed be his name that watcheth to keep me from falling fast asleep from all these my slumbrings and backslidings he now calls me to return, and promiseth to pardon me, and never to upbraid me of my other lovers. why my Lord Jesus is this thy voyce, whom I haue offended, neglected, slighted? thou art more righteous and faithful than I. I come at thy call. turn thou me and I shall be turned. draw me I will run after thee. o that it might be with me as in the months past, that thou wouldst restore to me the loue of my espousalls thine to me, and mine to thee and communion with thee. But why am I stared in the face with the dreadful apparitions of that sin that sin I say, a heart that cannot so much as earnestly

desire such communion with thee and sence of thy loue as sometimes I have found? why am I sould into the hands of this mine enemy? Pride that also prevails over me. why goe I mourning, Lord, because of the oppression of the adversary? Is there no baulm in Gilead for these sores? no physician there that can cure these plagues? Or do thy compassions fail toward me? where are the sounding of thy bowels father? Why art thou angry with thy poor prisoner so long and shuttest out my prayers, which I haue long made for pardon and power against these sins? hast thou said to my soul seek my face in vain then? I know there are iniquitys with me, but are there not forgivenesses and plenteous redemption with thee? neither do I know that I haue wickedly departed from my god, and wilfully, at least persisted therein at any time without abasing my soul before god? why then doest thou set my sins in the light of thy countenance, Lord, and hidest from me thy face nay leavest me in the hands of my prevailing corruptions? My soul cleav's to the dust, Lord undertake for me! And as thou biddest me return, so do thou turn me from all my abominations and I shall be turned o Lord my God.

about the 3d day I took a good part of the day to see into the evil of my 26
prevailing evils pride, and sensuality not savouring the grace of god and his love. Concerning which see more in the other end of this book.[14]

Yet on the 4th day at lecture I found my vile heart apt to be weary be- 27
forehand of the feared length of the publick ordinances: and I feel my spirit so leavened with sensuality that I cannot but be hanckering in my thoughts after creature comforts as of meat and drink &c when I should be holy intent to gods worship in religious services especially if they put me by the other. I took time to look into the evil of this also and much I did see. Athisme and not apprehending of god there present: for if god voutsafe to come and speak to me cannot I voutsafe to afford him hearing? unbeleef. for did I beleev that god were in those ordinances for my good, that would take away tediousness ingratitude, sensuality &c. Now the good Lord look down at last and here the groaning of his poor prisoner, and come and save me from the tyranny of these enemies of his as well as myne.

On the sabbath day night we set sayl. in 2 dayes we came to Martins Vinyard.[15] and were under sayl but 2 dayes from thence to the Bay, yet detained there 6 dayes by a strong Northeast wind. I look at it as great mercy that god provided so wel For us in a safe harbor at friends houses during that long storm. If we had either all that while been at sea we

[14] See pp. 421–426.

[15] Martha's Vineyard.

might haue had our liues in great danger: if we had been in a harbour near no plantation it had been exceeding uncomfortable; but god prevented both in mercy. When the storm was over a good harbour was but a prison to us. therefore I besought the lord earnestly and set my self to plead with god and take hold of him by faith for sutable winds to carry us toward our desired port; and god graciously heard my prayer both then, and afterward he answer'd my petitions for the continuance and renewing of that mercy, giving us a speedy passage; which answer to prayer I account a greater mercy than the thing begged by far. Hence I had ground to plead with god for greater mercys, because he had granted that to me. If I regard not iniquity in my heart god will hear me in what I ask aco. to him: but I regard not iniquity, for els god would not once and again haue heard my crys, and shewed me a signe for good.

Therefore Lord hear my crys, my sighings, my groans bottle thou my tears wherewith I seek at the hands of a father pardon and power over my still prevailing lusts, principally pride and sensuality, want of love to thee and fervent desires after communion with thee. And do not thou continue to smoak against the prayers of thy prisoner suffering these myne iniquities to be most fearfully prevalent, when god hath been using the sharpest meanes to cure them, and kill them, and when thou hast giuen me a heart most awakened with them and earnest with thee for deliverance from them! And so my prayers for those committed to me, those children of thine whom I pray'd for strive for, hoped for, and thought that the time of gods hearing had been nigh, because he so strangely stir'd up my heart restlesly to seek their good. but loe! contrary to my hopes I find the most hopeful of them far wors than when I left them. for this my spirit was at my return sorely perplexed, that I feared my sorrow for others, would keep me from sence of my owne sin. But having indeavour'd to discharge my duty by warnings and admonitions in the fear of god my spirit is somewhat at eas in that regard. I would I could be more diseased with my unworthy carriages godward. and oh that god would once at last appear for my plenteous redemption from them. for pardon and power I see a necessity of flying to him alone. And Lord deny me not this grace whatever thou deny me. satisfy me with thy grace that my soul may learn to prize it. And for my other petition for others: why Lord 'tis thyne owne name, thyne owne interest that is ingaged. by whom shall Jacob arise? if this society ly in wickedness one generation corrupting another.

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out of 1 John 15. God did very particularly discover to me the vileness of myne owne personal distempers: in the forenoon speaking of preferring christ aboue all things. I find that although the bottom support of my heart be in god yet I cannot prize actuall communion with him at present. I cannot savour that above communion with men, therefore I am not worthy of him. In the afternoon we heard of Johns humility in seeking onely christs exaltation not his owne. I find pride so beset so trample upon my spirit in all I do (even this day I feel it) that with confusion of face I confess my self to be above measure vile. yet I haue no power either to love and prize communion with christ or to seek him and not my self in what I do. ah Lord! I am oppressed, overpowred, thy grace in me is even strangled Lord undertake for me. I haue no strength nor might to combat with these Anakims. Lord I ly at thy feet unworthy to be helped by thee, worthy rather to be trampled on in thy fury (forasmuch as I haue trampled on and dispized christ in his glory) but remember thine owne name, thinck off thy Covenant, there is all my hope. Lord I ly downe in my shame worthy to be rejected. If thou wilt haue no pleasure in me nor any of my services, loe here I am! whatever become of so vile a despizer of thy grace as I, though I never injoy thee, yet thou art blessed and glorious thy self be thou Exalted for ever as thou deservest, though I be damned as I wel deserv for defrauding thee of thy glory. If I should be so, yet me thinks that would be some comfort and contentment that my god should be glorify'd though I were confounded. But I haue heard of thee by hearing of the ear to be a God of mercy pardon and plenteous redemption. let myne eyes see the such an one. hear thou therefore the groanings of thy poor prisoner that is captivated and oppressed by thine adversarys.

I was notwithstanding overborn with pride once and again in the fore- June 1
part of the week, and ffound much of the venom thereof. At Watertown lecture God was pleased in some measure graciously to breath in my heart hearing Mr. Sherman upon that The pure in heart shall see God. he exhorted to labour after the assurance of gods favour, and 2ly to labor for somewhat of gods presence to see god in some glorious manifestation of himself in every ordinance and providence. though not alway to expect god to prosper (though that be desirable in its place) yet to see him even in crosses and frownes working things about for our good. to that end he exhorted to purity of heart. And thence he comforted such as mourn under, and strive against that great impurity which they find that account their sin no part of themselves, but as their enemy; they shall see god. I find my owne carnality, how I am sold under sin, and can not savour or

desire communion with god, and this sensual frame most surprizeth me, when I should be nearest to god in hearing the word or in prayer. yet I look upon this and would loath it and my self for it, Lord make me so do more and more, and subdue it for me according to thy great mercy.

2. 3. Since this I haue found God letting forth some little beam of his glory or drop of his sweetness into my soul, making me to rely upon a god really present with me as the stay of my soul, when creatures are all miserable comforters, and studys themselues (through troubles every way occurring) no better then vexation of spirit. he onely is my father, able to make me happy willing to make me happy in himself though for my good he disquiet me in the creature, to drive me out of that misery which I haue throwne my self into by over-esteeming the creature and under-valuing him who is my creator and my God.

Ah Lord! what is so seely [silly] poor a wretch as I, that god should busy himself so about my good both in ordinances and providences. that thou shouldst cross and correct me to teach me wisdom, seing I should not learn it otherwise? joyn instruction to thy correction father. as thou layest on thy rod so put under thy staf to support me. pardon all my sins, giue me thy self and conformity to thy self, that's the great thing that I desire; help me to desire it more according to thy promiss wherein is all my hope.

On the sabbath day morning in private prayers I could not find my desires more earnestly carry'd after present deliverance from my owne sins, then after the conversion and salvation of my pupills: which troubled me to think that I should be more desireous of mans good than of gods glory which I daly wrong and injure with such aggravations as none can doe that yet know not god. for that that is it that provokes him, the iniquitys of his sons and daughters. But so am I sold under sin and hardness of heart that cannot groan under my iniquitys as my greatest burthen. ah Lord I am vile and poor, and sinful, helpless in my self, o take not thy good spirit from me, which may sanctify me by every ordinance of thine owne. myne eys are to the (my rock, my father) for this grace A heart to loath and labour under my sin and my self aboue any thing, and to prize the and thy glory aboue all things.

I still find pride and a deceitfulness of heart in going out of affections toward things here below, also vainity and little els in holy dutys, somewhat of frowardness or shortness of spirit, and though my sins be great, yet somewhat small but god is my trust, o take not thy spirit from me.

10 Friday I meet this week with many disquieting vexations, and find my self utterly unable to carry and behaue my self in my place, confrontings therein

by some, and I doubt stomakings by those whome I hoped best off: I find the spirits off all or most off from studys, and going agadding after vanity and mispence of time; this spirit I find creeping up much in those who before I left them were most hopeful: this to repress costeth me much study and sollicitous thoughts in the most loving way to doe it; but notwithstanding all my forethoughts I cannot perform it as I should when it comes to. I am impotent and unable to bear the burthen of so many upon me, and this distracts me when I should be taken up with my god, so I take his name in vain. I find my unbeleiving heart discouraged in prayer, at least it runns after other things, and those affections I had before in meditation almost lost; I find afflictions without and sin pride especially and sensuality within prevail. God is the great thing that I desire and 'tis his grace which supports my heart, yet I cannot keep up my desires after him. He seems not to hear or regard my prayers or indeavours either for my owne good or the good of others. my vileness makes that labour fruitless, which haply god would in another crowne with a blessing. ah I cannot serv not glorify my god, therefore I am almost quiet [quite] weary, (weary me more o God) of this world, longing after plenteous redemption from all iniquity. ah! when shall it once be! when shall I live to thy prays and walk and glory in the light of thy Countenance!

I haue now no confidence in the flesh. my owne conceits of my doing something for god more than others do, I see are all vain. I feel I cannot do any thing of my self, so far as god leav's me to myne owne weakness (though I contrived never so wel before hand) yet I fayl in the doing so that shame may sit in my face: yea I mar all I doe, I pul downe with the one hand what I build up with the other Less endeavours might have more fruit and be of more avail, were there less self seeking in me. god needs no service of mine: were I gone hence peradventure some other would succeed mee whome god would more delight to bless. And although I know god can accept services that are full of manifold imperfections by faith in christ as, well as if they were without sin wholy: But my actions are all so full of self seeking, self-exalting and admiring, so full of seeking the creature or to haue others happy and my self comforted in others happiness so much weariness in holy dutys, that I may with shame and confusion question whether there be any true aiming at gods glory in the most of my actions or not, and if none. and if there be no right end of them how is there any goodness in them? or any thing that God can owne? And if God accept them not, what profit haue I off any thing that I do under the sun? Besides as that which is crooked who can make streight, so my faith that is as weak as my works imperfect. others that can both

do and beleiv more god would bless more: but no marvel though he blast my indeavours, though he shut out my prayers and refuse to accept my services. But ah Lord! shall I whom thou hast formed for thy glory, not onely stain thy glorious name my self and undervalew thy grace, and offend thy good majesty, but shall my sins keep and withold thy grace from many more? shall I cumber the ground in the place of one that should do good and propagate thy glory, my self undermining the propagation thereoff by my sins making my pains unprofitable? better were it that I were out of this world than that both God and man should sustain such injury at my hand. for these things o Lord I ly down in my shame before thee.

12 sabbath And why do vain thoughts still lodge within me upon thy day, amidst thy worship? ah my God, why is there yet such a prophane spirit let loose to trample my soul under foot, as that I cannot see the evils, be sensible of the plagues of my owne heart when I am waiting to hear thee speak in thy ordinances? when I should receiv good from thee I grow unsensible of my need of grace for my self: hence I mind with greater affection what concerneth others good than my owne. My heart is no sooner beginning to be awakened, affected, broken for my sins, (as it began yesterday) but my goodness (if any there be) is like the morning dew that is dried up. When I am comming to the pool, why then some wandring thoughts, some sloatful fit, or some disordered affection steps between me and the Lord Jesus before I come at him I haue no power to get, no skil or might to keep my longing desires after christ Jesus and his redemption from all my god-dishonouring and spirit grieving abominations; but whilest christ delays his comming I slumber and sleep: or I slake my thirst at some puddle or other and so ceas prizing of him. dayes weeks months pass over me, and yet I get not over the prevailing of the same corruptions; becaus little coming to christ, scanty or short desires of him, why receiv little from him, and hence return less unto him. as I haue been shown this day out of 1 John. 16.

ah Lord there is all fulness even grace for grace with thee, o send me not away empty from the but pardon, but pitty for I am oppressed by thy foes. I haue no power to help my self, but myne eyes my groanings are to thee, who hast deliver'd my soul out of the lowest hell and therefore wilt deliver me.

I find afternoon a heart full of vain wandring thoughts sottish and unaffected with my misery and sinfulness pride also. why Lord take not thy good spirit from me, which is my onely joy in the hous of my pilgrimage. o let not iniquity prevail over me! I see I am less than the least good thought

or affection, cannot mourn under my wretchedness. o then make christ precious to me, in whom alone is, and from whom I hope, I pray, I wait to receiv all things.

On munday morning I found my heart upon my studys so that I knew not how to get it off whilest I was seeking god. Pride also that day and especially the next day at at [*sic*] a private meeting. ah under this my soul groanes that I would resist and cannot, I would overcome that lust which marrs my best performances, but cannot: nay cannot so much as open my mouth at sometimes to cry for help against it. ah when shall I be deliver'd from the body of this death when shall it once be? upon the like case as I remember at New Haven, god told me his grace should be sufficient for me. sufficient to accept of me and my performances for christs sake; sufficient to forgiue my backslidings

Communion with god, conformity to god are the 2 great things which my soul in some poore measure longs after this morning and I desire to mourn more after them.

I set some time apart of the last day to look over my life and former 19
sins in way of preparation to the sacrament but could find little sutable affection and mourning for the many sins and greivous that I stand guilty of before god.

I was affraid of drawing neer god in so holy an ordinance for at sometimes I find no power at all to prize the Lord christ and reconciliation by him. o if god leav me to the prophaness of my heart as I deserv he should, I can valew him no more than the dry dust I tread upon. And I have found my heart so often left to the prevailing of this prophanness, for this caus am I affraid If my heart deceiv me not, it is ready to make such objections as these

In the time of hearing the word I found the same dead sensuall frame of heart in me getting ground of me more than before I came to the meeting. Mr. Mitchel shew'd the danger and the vile sin of a careless spirit that hath little or no appetite unto christ and communion with him such frustrate the very end of the ordinance which is communion. why Lord thou seest and I see that this is my frame. And thereby I am unfit unworthy to receiv thee, if thou leav me I shall but eat and drink to my self damnation. o Lord I am affraid of this. true I cannot love thee, and am therefore vile exceeding vile, and the more vile by how much the less affected with it, sensible of it. And this sin with my pride were enough to sink me for ever had I no more to answer for. But the more helpless and hopeless in my self father, why I haue the more need of thy christ to be-

come all unto me: and therefore I desire to fly unto him although unfit to receiv him that he may make me fit. I see a need of whole christ and do desire him, help my want of desires open thou my mouth wide and then fill it with thy son. I need him, and therefore Lord according to thy free and gracious offer and command I desire to take him, as a prophet to reveal the fathers glory to me, that god may be most glorious in my eys; I can see no glory in thee Lord! except thy onely begotten son reveal thee. I desire him as my onely priest and propitiation, ah I haue daly sins and therefore want him to make a daly attonement, that my sins may not separate between mee and my god, and cause him and his spirit whose visitations preserv my spirit to depart from me; thats my death, that I am affraid of. that I may be accepted for his sake, who in and of my self deserv onely condemnation. I desire him for my king that he may subdue all the enmity of heart against him, that I may no longer loath him without a caus, nor love other things above him. that he may subdue my unconquerable corruptions pride, and whoarish affections; which I find so prevalent, as that I despair in and off my self to subdue them. I might say with David I shall surely one day fall by the hand of Saul of my whoarish affections, which eat out all actuall love to god or relish of his wayes, or very nigh: did not god reviue me a little by his grace at some seasons, by an almighty power no less can doe it. And did not he this day and formerly ingage (and seal to his ingagement) that if I would receiv his son whom he offered freely to me why he would enter into an Everlasting Covenant that should not be broken by himself: neither would he suffer it to be utterly broken by me. ah riches of godlike grace! let it be to thy poor creture according to thy good word. let christ be mine let me be his alone. I come to thee to make me every day more willing it should be so. and now o that I had a heart to live upon thee to liue to thee that I could go away and sin no more. But woe and alas what vain thoughts? what weariness of gods service prevails in me, which I haue no power to overcome? what pride. innumerable evils compass me about, and they are too hard for me. but god be thank't through Jesus christ who giues so vile a sinner hopes of reconciliation and favour with himself notwithstanding my owne iniquity's. Amen Lord so let it be!

O Lord what hankering after creature comforts when I am in thy presence seeking of thee Thoughts running after them and I cant get them off What an uncontrollable power of pride again and again overbearing me misspence of time I fear that is not attending my work in the season I fear lest greiving of thy spirit and quenching its motions O take it not from me hide not thy face set not my secret sins in the light of thy countenance I find vanity everywhere beside

Let me find rest and peace in thee Speak peace to me that I may return no more to folly O what need have I of a savior to make atonement for such great abominations O let me have him Accept me in him And the more neglect of business I have upon me which endanger the drawing of my heart from the fear and love of God I beseech thee I beseech thee let the power of my Lord be the more great in keeping alive the love of God in my soul and desire after communion with thee This request I put up from the bottom of my soul for I am afraid of my own deceitful heart.

I find a heart so dead, and hard in Every ordinance even at the lecture 22
this 4th day and thoughts so wandring in private dutys, and such an unsavoury spirit that cannot prize love desire communion with christ and mourn for my provoking him: and so much pride I haue found prevaling this week, such a spirit of whoardoms and departure from god that I haue no power against: so that I find an infinite need of the Lord Jesus to reconcile me every day to the father. and I am affraid of my owne vile heart that I shall one day fall by the hand of Saul; and these feares would haue wrought in me much discouragement peradventure, if the Lord had not so lately confirmed his gift of christ to me, and renewed my closing with him, for this very end to deliver me from this iniquity. ah Lord! when shall it once be my trust and my onely hope and help fail me not in a time of need. it hath been and is my fervent desire that the Lord would keep my spirit from being stoln from him by my manifould occasions and business as I shall certainly daly be without his grace, by his grace onely I stand.

John Haines one of my pupils having formerly desired liberty to go toward 24 Friday
Ipswich *and being denied by me (for I was afraid of him and of that degeneracy which I to my grief saw in him since my return) I say he went away on the 2d day to Salem without my leave or either the President's knowledge or mine and stayed out till the 5th day night and then came not to give any account of his journey nor to obey their commendation to me that sent them to him. The thing was very exercising and grievous to me from the fact that one that had been of such hopes did now quite fail my expectation in such wise. Upon his return this 6th day I took occasion to speak to him though having premeditated a convicting discourse and having set myself to find out arguments to wrestle with the Lord for him and others and having besought the Lord seriously beforehand and desired him not for my sins to withold his blessing from others and from this whole society. I told him not only of his evil carriages in this business (which indeed be too apparent) and of his breach of his own engagement at his admission and his endeavoring to disable me from rending an account of him either to god or man as I accounted myself solemnly charged to do but also of the great grief he put both me and others of his friends*

to in seeing our expectations and hopes so strangely failed and he so suddenly altered from what he sometimes seemed at least to be. I told him that danger of backsliding from former attainments how Satan enters in with no spirits worse than himself and the latter end of that may become worse than his beginning. I told him of the dog returning to his vomit and the sow to her wallowing &c. Not myself only but others had had great hopes of his towardliness and thereby been much endeared to him and could not but be so still but now both myself and others (who had spoken to me so much concerning him) feared or rather saw it was not with him as formerly. I told him how sad it would be to his parents to hear another report of him than I had given them before. But I concluded if he thought such things as these were for his own honor that they would be for his future comfort that they would be well pleasing to God who goes on and prospers. &c. He wept and seemed much affected at my speech. I wished him not [*to*] *be discouraged at it but consider seriously of those things which I spoke out of the greatness of my love and sorrow that it should be otherwise with him than formerly. He thanked me for my love and said he hoped God would do him good by what I had said to him in his time I prayed that God might do so. I asked him further if himself did not see that to be true that I had spoken to him that his heart was gone after pleasure and off from those good ways he had sometimes walked in and he answered somewhat in way of assent thereto fearing that it was. I told him also of the dangers of pleasure and how they had like to have been my ruin Knowing the danger of them therefore I dissuade both myself and others. And so I bade him farewell. But that very evening he was again at play I think among the students and when he saw me coming he slinked home and left his game whereby I gather that he is more afraid of me a poor sinful worm than of God and I am sorry that so solemn a warning and so efficacious for the present should have lost its power so soon.* ah Lord why dost thou shut out my prayers both for my self and others? I haue transgressed and rebelled and thou hast not pardoned. I know I am not worthy to haue power over my owne lusts, nor to see thy grace powred upon any of mine. yet Lord cannot the Lord Jesus make my sinful prayers and tears and endeavours as acceptable as anothers? or if that will not be graunted, (as lord why may it not seing I plead onely free grace which thy self gives me an intrest in) yet arise for thine owne sake, and cause thy face to shine upon us, turn us again our god and we shall be saved. all my springs and hope is in thee, o deny me not thy self!

25 I set my self again this day to wrestle with the Lord for my self and then for my pupils and the Lord did pretty much inlarge my heart in crying to him. But still I see the Lord shutting out my prayers and refusing to hear for he whom in special I pray'd for, I heard in the forenoon with ill company playing musick, though I had so solemly warn'd him but yesterday of

letting his spirit go after pleasures. And again I see light and vain carriage in him just at night on this last day at even.[16] For these things my heart is fill'd and almost sunk with sorrow and my bowels are turned within me; ah Lord how long, how long wilt thou shut out my prayers?

My sins are especially Pride, weariness of gods ordinances, whorish heart (which having lost the feeling of my owne evils looseth its sence of a daly need of christ for my self) unbeleif. for my heart and eyes are even ready to fail with waiting for the Lords Salvation seing I find god denying me both power over my owne distempers, and they are ready to get ground on me whilest I am praying for gods glory and others good: and also he refuseth to comfort me with the returns of his spirit to our society which alas is almost quite gone I fear, and it may be sayd of almost all of us god is not here. we who are set apart for god's glory, why god and godliness are clean vanish't from among us. None stirs up himself to take hould of a god departing, but every one endeavouring to drive him away yea even off those few that profess the Lord, I wish there were not falling off from him and his worship at least cooling in affections to him, I excuse not myself. Those that were hopeful heretofore, and whom my soul longed to have seen made exemplary in their places to succeders are now become sensual as others if not corrupters of others. These evils are upon us and none know's how long? I cry to the Lord in this respect but he is so far from hearing, that he seems angry with my prayers, and whilest I seek him for others I loose him and my love to him my self, and by my whoardoms hinder that glory of god and good of others that I longed for. shall not my eyes run down with tears, and my heart and bowels be oppressed with sorrow for these things till the Lord look down from heaven and have mercy? but ah Lord! when shall that be? for thou hast cast us off and forsaken us, and who knowes where thy displeasure will end? just art thou o Lord in all that has come upon us; yet remember mercy and think of thyne owne name. (sabbath 26/

In the forenoon on the Lords day Mr. Collins[17] preaching 1 John. 3. 3. he that hath this hope purifys himself &c. I found my heart very dead and little stird at the mention and particularizing the glory to come; much of the ould frame; least sight of gods glory or of glory in it when 'tis nearest. yet at home in after meditations at noon and the next day it pleased god June 26

[16] The Puritan sabbath began at sundown on Saturday night, hence "light and vain carriage" at this time was a breach of the sabbath.

[17] John Collins graduated from Harvard in 1649, joined the church at Cambridge (see his "relation" below, p. ??), taught at Harvard and preached for a time. In 1653 he went to England where he became famous as pastor of a church in London.

shew me some little glimpse of his glory, and to let me feel a drop of the sweetness of his love and communion with him. yet after this a munday my spirit was almost quite discouraged and soul and body both ready to quail, because of my sorrows for what mine eyes daly behould in others sins and mispence of their precious hours. this evening I haue found a little reviving and cheering up of my spirit in god. o how precious art thou o never failing, ever loving, freely-pardoning, Compassionately-pittying father, when others do not pitty, cannot help; o be thou my portion, for I have none els, help me to joy in thee alone o god of my Salvation, make, make I beseech thee christ precious and sin bitter (my own sin) unto me!

script. 30th Tuesday was a private fast. I was very dead hearted in the beginning of the day, the night before. In publick it pleased the Lord to powre upon me some measure of affection. but now woe is me! how incurable is my wound that wilest I am confessing and shaming my self before god for my pride and sensuality, and security, even then pride of gods gifts (good affections) ariseth. No marvel then if god visite with bodily weakness to keep it downe, no marvail, though he blast my endeavours and make the colledge and country about me fare the worse for my sake. though he punish my barrenness with publick drought: though he say of this poor society: I haue shown such and such favour to one of you, and loe! he loath's me, cares not for me, robs me of my glory, and all this for my love; Ile shew you no more mercy, my spirit shall strive with no more of you. Thus I can pul down wrath and destroy my self and all about me, but to do good I haue no knowledge. Lord I am vile, but thou art gracious, turn to me rather in mercy than in displeasure. ah let not my sins fall upon others of thy people. fail not their hopes, stain not thy owne glory for my sake.

Sabbath July 3 I am still affraid that my sorrow for sin should not be true because I find such vehement and unappeaseable affections toward others longing, striving, praying for their good; and yet so little mourning and fighting against and restless striving for deliverance from my owne prevailing iniquitys. pride and vain thoughts weariness of gods service &c. The like feares were renew'd and increased in the publick ordinances Mr. Dunster preaching how any lust of other things though lawful and a duty in themselves any inordinate immoderate desire chokes the word. I found again such an utter impotency of spirit to desire more communion with and conformity to christ, and to mourn under the want thereof as my greatest evil. thou Lord requirest that I have and loath and mourn under sin as my daly greatest evil. I desire to do but cannot: Nay I cannot keep up those desires. ah! Lord saue me or I perish. my life is hid with thee, thither I come for it o send me not empty away! God let me se in the forenoon that two violent im-

petuous desiring of lawful things and unseasonable desireing them becomes a lust when the soul is even ready to dy away if it haue them not presently. both these I am guilty of in reference to my pupils good. The latter of them to my shame this day. For Afternoon the Lord spake very sutably to my condition, namely to set before me the greatness of the sins of the godly being committed against father Son and holy ghost actually communicating themselves in greatest love, dwelling in and with the soul &c. Here though I did approve of the truth and se it sutable to me, yet I could not get my heart out of that frame to desire that the Lord would rather speak some sutable word to my pupils. O confounding vileness of an unthankful, impenitent heart! what was this but to say to the Lord (when he sent his spirit, for ought I know in so sutable a word to have wrought all that grace in me that I have long bin groaning after) depart from me and speak to some other that have more need of thee for the present then I? Is this with humble thanks to adore that grace of god that fits a word to my souls necessity? is this with fear and trembling to work out myne owne Salvation when god is affording speciall means and speaking to me? Is this to pant after the Lord and conformity to him, as being deeply apprehensive of the death, the poison and I feel frequently (and this day feel) working in my soul? Have others need of gods present grace that sin onely against gods common love, and haue I that sin against special love (and am heard hearted and unaffected with my sin) haue I no need of present pardon, and of present plenteous redemption? Truely I deserv that god should visit me in his ordinances noe more, but go to those that prize and need him more. How justly might the Lord leav me in the hand of myne iniquitys (which my soul abhors) pride and despizing of communion with christ, seing I put from me salvation when it came so near me? Lord Jesus I ly down in my shame before the deserving to be destroy'd. Nothing in me but what draw's on ruine with cart ropes. but when I ey thy sure covenant, as I am asham'd of my owne faithlesness, so thy truth giues me hope that thou wilt not leav my soul in the grave, nor suffer thy redeemed to see corruption. therefore I lift up my heart with my hands to a father in christ Jesus begging for pardon and redemption from all those iniquitys and for continuance of this desire my self can do, desire, will no good thing. ah Lord do not thou fail me who art my trust and blessed be thy great name which thou hast given such a vile wretch to trust in. o that I might no more dishonour it!

In the 2 next days I found so much of a spirit of pride and secret joying in some conceived excellence in my self which is too hard for me and I cant prevail over and also so much secret vice and vain thoughts in holy duties and thereby weariness of 4.5./

them and such filthy lust also flowing from my fond affection to my pupils whiles in their presence on the third day after noon that I confess myself an object of God's loathing as my sin is of my own and pray God make it so more to me

Thursday 7 I have much business lies upon me, that requires much of my thoughts and strength; and I have not so much free time for musing off the things of god as perhaps I should. and my heart is so long composing to any serious thoughts and so soon out of a good frame again. I am so soon lost in my affections. I find such a bent of spirit to feed my self with fore-contrivances for my owne self and work or for my pupils good, and so unable to do in that kind what god requires without losing my love to my god and communion with him. that my soul is affraid within me of my owne spirit of whoardoms. I can meddle with nothing but I mar it, and lose myself, and griev the spirit of my god: and find a dead heart that cannot griev for it when I have done. I am affraid to follow close my ordinary studys, because my heart is so stouln away with them, and I cannot prize the presence of god more than them, I mean his outward services. much unbeleif therefore that cannot expect to meet him whom my soul desires in wayes of his owne. *I should say I shall one day surely fall to the hand of Saul were I left to myself. But when my foot is almost gone why thy right hand O Lord upholds me and thy visitation preserves my spirit O therefore take not take not I beseech thee thy holy spirit from me though I grieve it O give a new heart a circumcized heart to love the harking to thy convenant though I deserve no grace from thee Give me not to my own heart's lusts for I am thy possession purchased by thee I have given up myself unto thee O do not cast me off My heart is evil and sinful yea but thy truth is firm and everlasting and that is the ground of all my hope and all my salvation My other hopes are but like a spider web. Why blessed be thy name that gives me leave and any desire to hope in thy self Increase these desires I pray thee and fail not my hopes Preserve me in thy tender mercy that neglect of business and cares nor lust of other things check my affection to thee that is my great fear make it my daily care.*

8/friday I am the last night and this morning still excedingly affraid of a lukewarm prophane indifferency of affection toward god and his grace which seizeth upon me sometimes when I should be nearest to him. therefore I cry to the Lord according to his promise that he would not suffer his children to be murderd before his eys as I am in fear of: I feel death creeping into and seizing upon my soul ever and anon. I beg and groan to the Lord to redeem me from all iniquity and from all confidence in my self or the creature, and god promises 14 Hosea to heal the backslidings of such. I will therefore wait and hope and strive for this salvation

I take it as a fruit of gods tender love that he is now and then awakening me with the vileness of my owne heart to look about me to the things of my owne peace that he makes me to see that I haue need of a redeeming kinsman of a daly peace maker: though it be matter of shame and confusion when I feel such an Ocean of deadly poyson in my heart as sometimes discovers it self in pride, sometimes in secret letting out of my affections to my studys more than god and communion with him, not savouring the things of god, and therefore weariness of his service Horrible ingratitude when god offers me his presence and communion, that I had rather be in the bosom of any thing any vanity than of him thus grieving his spirit to be so slighted by one whom of all others he might expect most fear and love. unbeleef. impenitency that cannot mourn bitterly for those things, great sins but small sorrow. And I deserv that god should hearden my heart because I put from me his grace the last sabbath when he came in so sutable a word to soften it. these are my plagues that none can heal. but blessed be god that has layd up all fulness in christ for poor needy indigent sinners; and bids me come to him empty (ay so Lord I must come I cannot of my self prize or desire thy grace or maintain my desire thou knowest, o pitty me) come freely, o riches of grace! I can merit nothing but wrath draw me, I will run after the; all my hope is in thee. help me with patience and continued constant desires to wait on thee. 10 sabbath

The Lord in some measure helped me to attend on him this day free from those doting affections to others that I use to have and did somewhat speak suitable truths to my need and brought them home to me in some measure I blessed him for anything I beseech him pardon that infinite defect of a right frame and worldly repentance and faith which there should have been I desire to come to him without anything for all things. In the afternoon the Lord brought home to my conscience the sin of lying at one special time [*at*] *Hartford and make me somewhat troubled in spirit to think what God required of me whether to confess it to man or no and whether it might not be of evil consequence and on this occasion I looked over my former abominations and have cause to wonder that I do enjoy any quiet day in this world that I am not made a barrier to myself to provision of this horrid iniquity that I have sold myself to The Lord be blessed and Lord pity me And give a heart to live closely with thee and do not set my old iniquity in the light of thy countenance. Supply my wants temporal and spiritual and heal my soul and body for both are very loath and unable to do thy service.*

I was this week at 2 lectures the one treating of the glorious priviledge of the sons of god, and how foolish we are in not making the thoughts of those truths the food of our soul, god in measure breathed into my soul therein; also at Boston lecture. where was held forth the readiness of all grace in christ to all the souls want. But pride sundry times monstrously sabbath 17

prevailed; I was (and still desire to continue so) ashamed and confounded before the Lord for this abomination. My proneness to satisfy my soul in my study's or pupills progress, or any thing without god is the daly fear of my soul; the secret pitfall that (as I am most unawares caught with so) fills me with fear so that I dare not go on sometimes in my studys as my over eager spirit would carry me, without recalling myself to muse of the things of god. But alas! I find little of god breathing in my prayers or meditations, little love to the lord Jesus (though I daly seek it as my great request) much vain thoughts, weariness, and unbeleif. 'tis not with me as in times past, when I could find sweet repose for a weary soul in christs bosom. And 'tis just with the Lord it should be so, I have despiz'd communion with him, (which frame my heart is affraid to think of, much more to feel) communion is in a great measure witheld from me, yea and a heart to prize and long after it many times is deny'd me, I seek and beg it, yet cannot find it. I know I deserv to have christ and all his grace hid from me. But merciful father in christ my Lord! didst not thou the god of truth ingage to put into me the spirit of a son (in the day of thy Covenant with me) and loe the spirit of a Devil, the very poison of Hel it self in that heart which should be the temple of the holy-ghost. Canst thou indure to see thine owne inheritance layd wast? thine owne temple poluted? thine owne children murdered? can the god of mercy and faithfulness stand by and see a poor wretch overborn by his too strong adversarys, stretching out his feeble hands to thee not onely his maker, but his sworn redeemer, and wilt thou suffer him to perish without help? it cannot be. why awake o arm of the Lord, put on strength (o god my strength) come speedily to my succour, make no tarrying. for thyne owne Covenant and glory (which are my hope when readie to quail) send me thy saving health!

Sabbath 17 My soul waits for some of those sweet meetings that sometimes I haue had with the Lord Jesus. In the forenoon god awakned me with feares and disquietments in reference to an untrueth that formerly long agoe I had told, vizt, that *I knew nothing of Mister Mildmay's*[18] *sword nor who had it when I think Sir Cotton*[19] *had it and I knew it* I questioned whether the Lord

[18] Possibly William Mildmay, son of Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces in Essex, who was sent over from England to be educated at Harvard and who graduated with the class of 1647.

[19] Probably Seaborn Cotton, oldest son of the Reverend John Cotton of Boston, who was born at sea on the way to New England in 1633. He graduated from Harvard in 1651, in the same class with Wigglesworth, and became minister of the church at Hampton, New Hampshire. The use of the title "Sir" with the surname indicates that at the time of which Wigglesworth was speaking Cotton had received his bachelor's degree but was continuing at the college in order to become a Master of Arts.

call'd me now to speak of so triviall a thing as this is when as I partly *think it was found out again and carried away with* [*him*] *hence and whether I be called to rack in a business so old. My spirit was somewhat quieted in reference to that* God gave me also some incouragement from the markes giv'n of good ground, sundry of them I hope I can owne in some measure before god.

Afternoon again god suffred much disquietment to distract my spirit and hinder my edification in reference to an omission of somewhat which I knew not whither a duty or no. I cry'd to the Lord in the anguish of my soul at the meeting, and he remov'd the temptation immediatly after my coming home. o blessed be his name! Lord teach me thy way, I will walk in all thy good paths, onely unite my heart to fear thy name. And let the joy of the Lord be my strength. return therefore in tender mercys to my soul, lift up the light of thy countenance though I deserv it not, yet do it for thy own name and glory: why should I live in thy world and haue no heart to glorify thee? change therefore I beseech the my heart, and put the living, active, constant love and fear of god into my soul, and through those preserv me to thy heavenly Kingdom from all apostacy in actions or affection, to which I am so dangerously inclined! thou art my trust.

On the 2d day I found pride together with sleighthing one with whome I disputed, and two much peremptoriness in speech: and this although god had that very morning let my doutful conscience perplex me to shew me my folly, and what need I had to get and keep near god. 18

Tuesday I felt pride again prevail several times, though in some measure I hope withstood, but it's two hard for me. And eager impetuos pursuit of my studys, to get my manifould businesses rid out of hand. this I am exceedingly affraid off, I cry to god against, and dare not without so doing goe on constantly in my studys, for fear of losing my self and my heart. And yet how do I lose it notwithstanding? How little love to the Lord Jesus maintained? ah Lord pardon, and be speedy for my releif. 19

I am affraid of losing Christ and being separated from him by sin, but I cannot mourn for it kindly as it wrongs and greives god. Notwithstanding the Lord was graciously present this day in his ordinances awakening in the former part for my sensuality relishing more sweetness in the creature than christ, for by my weariness sometimes in or backwardness to seeking of him to purpose, thereby dispizing christ and all his grace, o monstrous iniquity, partly also incouraging from the testimonies of my conscience to me in somethings. partly perswading my heart (I hope truely to renew my closing with christ: whole christ god wil'd me to receiv with all my heart, parting with lusts absolutely for him, with the word and all lawfull things 20

comparatively making him onely, continually my trust my rest my joy for ever. Lord such a christ is he whom my soul so desires to close with. this christ and such affections to him I want I desire, help my want of desire and forgive it. owne me in him. him let me have or els I dy I have undone my self by my iniquitys, by my daly (and this day's) pride and spirituall whoardoms. let it be possible with the for christs sake to heal all my backslidings and supply all my inward (especially) and also outward pinching wants I will wait for thy salvation. onely let me neither faint through impatiency and unbeleif, nor ceas seeking through sensuality, which I greatly fear!

23 Still I find pride monstrously daly prevailing especially in dispute, impatiency of spirit not to carry all before me &c. a heart fearfully prone to lose my love to god, to be weary of his ordinances to think the time much that I spend in his presence, and indeed a little time will do nothing at my heard heart.

I was on friday betwixt desires to issue more of my business and fear least I should then neglect god and attendance of him, much exercised. at last I threw all aside and god gaue me a few sweet thoughts of him self. But o Ephraim thy goodness is as the morning dew! my body is almost overcome with the violent heat, Lord fit me for thy service and day; make it precious pleasant, not tedious to me. speak thou to my heart that I may not fail nor fall off any more to folly; that I may be sensible how much better thy presence is than the bosom of other lovers.

God hath all this day marvelously suted his word to my condition. telling me of all fulness in christ inviting and directing to him; stirring up to prize him &c. as if the Lord had spent the most of this day purposely for me, and spoke onely to me. yet ah! little sutable affection to such great wants, to so gracious words. Heart dead, senseless of my own wants and woes when god was revealing his grace. I cannot yet get over that plague of seing and feeling no present necessity of grace from christ. I had sore conflict with feares, that I could more easily bear the denyall of present delivery from my sins and prevailing evils, than from this temporall judgement of drought. As also that I desired when god was speaking to me, that somewhat might be sayd that might concern and do good to my pupills, which I am exceedingly affraid had somewhat of the prophane spirit concerning which vid. June 3.

Afternoon I had some thought there might be appointed a Fast in reference to the drought, that I had a great conflict with my owne spirit to get my spirit so off from my ordinary studys as to be in any sort willing solemnly to spend time to seek the Lord. These are the plagues that my

soul lies under, and a hard heart and much unbeleif added unto all, and weariness apt to seize me, (though I thank god I hope it prevailes less this day than many times) in seeking god which is the onely meanes to obtain redress

My spirit is now seized upon with feares and misgivings: I find such cause of jealousy over my owne self in regard of my proness to and often sinning against the lord by inordinate desire after dispatching and gaining much in my ordinary study's. When I would set myself to meditate on god and christ and salvation by him I am (do what I can) soon wearied with intending of thoughts that way; On the other side I dare not giue them liberty to run long after contrivances and hopes in the creature; yet they outrun me every day here. this makes me affraid; this makes that I cannot se my studys and paines performed for and accepted by god, because so much love to my studys and so little to god himself. Yet blessed be his name that lets me not be at rest in the bosom off the creature, but exerciseth me with often feares of losing himself. When he hides away his face I am troubled how ever other things fare Why father deliver me from the evil man my self, I betake my self to thy strength for sesonable help; be not to me as waters that fayl. I was twice at Boston this week. both times provoking the Lord by pride. yet the former day god heard my earnest prayer for supply of mony that I might discharge my debts according to his command. yet to abase me (as it did) he suffred me to lose a bill that was made for 32 li that might have prov'd some loss perhaps. Yet I pray'd to him again; he heard me, and restored it the next day but one. why Lord hear my prayer for grace to liue upon the, and to thee and to delight in the; is not that as acceptable a petition as either of those? is it not as much for thy glory, for my necessary good? give then I beseech the such grace for the future, pardon the iniquity thats past, pitty me that am helpless in my self, neither can keep aliue my desires after thy help. 30 6th *day*

Yesterday afternoon (meeting with some very disrespectful carriage from a student) my soul I hope did in some poor measure long for and relish sweetness in the Lord himself. And I hope there are true groanings after him in some small measure this morning I desire to mourn and lament that I can desire him so little and I am afraid of my vile heart that is apt to lose all affection to him when I should be nearest to him waiting for his salvation because my goodness is but as the morning dew O Lord hear my poor chatterings in this respect and for thy name sake deliver me

God is still teaching me how to come to him to doe all for me and to speed. as if he preach't to none but me from Sabbath to Sabbath. what a stupid heart have I that gets so little ground of my corruptions by all these 31

meanes? I hope the Lord helpt me some little more than usually against that stupid frame of my heart that cannot prize christ. yet I found such deadness so little mourning for my great iniquitys (as committed against a gracious god), as made me fear my state, and not know how to evidence it to my self. Yet I conclude at length; where there has bin such a degree of humiliation as to make me goe out of my self sin and world for all grace. in the unfained desires of my soul, there is true conversion. But this there has bin often. ergo[20] that is true repentance that drives the soul to christ onely for that and all other grace; I have been daly fain to fly to christ alone for all good; ergo god accepts this (notwithstanding my daly whoardoms) as renewed repentance. 'Tis true I cannot find power to get rid of my great iniquity why but christ hath it for all comers to him. yea but my very sence of my need of him is daly decaying; ergo he will cast me off as a despizer. no but though I cannot prize christ nor redemption by him, nor maintain a good desire to him, yet he that uphold's all things by the word of his power hath undertaken to uphold me and his grace in me; blessed therefore be god for Jesus christ. he will give Repentance to Israel and remission of sins.

August 1 I cannot prevail against that cursed frame to think the time long that I spend in reading gods word. Pride and sensuall affections outgoings of heart after my studys again get head. My heart even blesseth god when he lets me meet with crosses in the creture for then is the creatour most sweet and desirable. my soul and my spirit within me desires him, and is affraid of losing him, by my daly losing my desires to him. why I should not see such a daly necessity of a saviour if I had power to prize a saviour in my hands. Reserv thou blessed father the power in thy owne hands, but yet send not me away empty, when I seek for supplys of strength to liue with, upon, and unto god

2 Tuesday. I find my old plague sores still running therefore I am affraid because my very love to the Lord Jesus I haue no power to retain; I cannot but hanker after my studys whilest I am reading gods word: pride also gets ground of me. Lord Jesus if thou canst do any thing (and I know thou canst do all things) help me. The Lord made me pretty earnest with him this morning for redemption from these lusts, and I will wait for his answer, I am not worthy of any.

6t In the later part of the week the same spirit of pride and cooling of love to the Lord Jesus, immoderate outgoings of my heart to other things: and though shame for them to drive me from god, yet little true godly sorrow to drive me to god. yet I do daly endeavour in some weak measure to

[20] This word is abbreviated throughout the manuscript thus: gô.

make my peace with god, and to lay up all my hope in his mercy. I remember the sweet tasts I have had of him (a dramm whereof that was very sweet I had the last Last day) and my soul would long after the like, but I am not able. ah Lord when wil thy salvation appear? how long shall I be as those that are dead long agoe? how long shall I cry and thou wilt not hear? shall I be altogether like those that thou hast giv'n over to their lusts? Lord thou owest me nothing. yea but I owe thee much. when shall I be inabled to pay it thee? oh that I could answer thyne expectations of me! remember thy covenant with me, and do it for thy name sake, though there be none els to help me.

Exceeding gracious was my god on the sabbath in speaking punctually 7
to my particular needs again, and such was the scope of the whole dayes exercise to teach me to prize christ, and to incourage to seek to him for supplys and to walk humbly with him some good measure of affection the Lord wrought in my heart in the forenoon especially, but multitudes of vain thoughts crouded in upon me in the forepart of the sabbath.

munday we disputed and I had singular assistance from god, but ah! sinful soul I cannot giue god the glory, but make his grace to serv my owne pride and vainglory and whorish departures from him. this I fear'd before hand and pray'd against, but according to my feares it came upon me. yet in the Evening the Lord took of my affections in some measure from the creatures and made me long after grace and favour with my god, and to rest my weary sinful soul in the bosom of a saviour.

I found very much pride the rest of the week prevailing sundry times and a spirit that lost my love to religious dutys that grew to weary of them, and I could do no other: this I spread before god as my fears especially this latter and and [*sic*] my plagues

Vain thoughts exceedingly prevail'd in the beginning of the day es- Sabbath
pecially fears of being lead into temptation by company that we had to 14 *day*
dinner more than ordinary, but the Lord helpt me to divert the discourse. In the afternoon god helpt me with more affection: christ was held out; off all others I need him most, my heart answers, thee Lord Jesus my soul needs and would fain with open mouth intertain; but my desires are not in my own hand, oh kindle in me glorious esteem of this glorious saviour, whom I hear the father giues welcome intertainment to in heav'n, let not me sleight him upon earth. The desires of my soul are to thy name and the remembrance of thee: that I may have thy favour which is better than life, thy assistance also in my studys (I feel my owne insufficiency every thing becomes a snare to mee) but especially grace I beg to walk with god in the world among a perverse generation; for Jesus christ his merit and

intercession, for thine owne everlasting love, and promiss and thy glory which I would seek deny it me not o my father and my god!

The 2d and 3d day as I found less outbreakings of sin, so I felt little heart breaking for sin: much assistance in my studys and I hope my heart in some measure caryed to seek my rest beyond them. Especially on the 3d day at night hearing some things which I had spoken to my pupils with derision reiterated among the scolars I betook my self to the Lord to be my portion.

17 4th day I heard at Cambridge lecture the greatness of sin being committed against the striving of gods spirit; I had much adoe to get my spirit off from minding what concern'd others to apply things to my self; though I endeavour'd it yet I found little melting affection. I took all the time between the end of the sermon and prayers at college to muse and pray: desiring that I might mourn for my ould fearful quenchings of gods spirit and these more aggravated despizings of christ of later times, though I could se nobody els affected with the word. I saw matter of amazement in looking into former and present vileness: yet Lord pardon my hard-heartedness and take not thy good spirit from me. forgive also this evenings pride, and let it be possible with thee to subdue my iniquitys.

On friday I consulted most of the day about college affairs being much exercised with contumacious and disrespective negligent carriages of my pupils. In contrivances for redress I fear my heart rested too much: pride in discours together with sleighting and not honouring superiours prevaile extreemly; and also vain distractions in prayer.

20 ultimus dies/ I am much perplexed about my pupils and how to carry to them, but I cannot attain a broken heart for the same carriages in my self to my god: I would make god my resting place, but my want of repentance hinder's me.

21 On the sabbath my desire was that my soul might rest in the bosom of
22 god; though I could attain little of it. God spake very sutably to me and tould me of many occasions whereupon men refuse christ, but I hope my heart approves off a christ upon those terms which the gospel offers, and that desires my heart may be made like gods rule, not that changed according to my hearts desire. He tould me the way to come to christ both for justifying and sanctifying grace; in that son of his grace I find comfort and incouragement to hope in him for pardon and power though I find in my self that which maketh me affraid and ashamed namely a spirit of whoardoms.

23 Some incouragement and strengthning of faith I found when I had been in his presence from his free justifying grace to all beleeving sinners.

Pride much prevalent: and dying away of affections toward the Lord 24
Jesus, and vain distractions in prayer Lord when shall it be otherwise? when shall it once be? blessed be god for Jesus christ my hope. blessed be god for keeping aliue a spirit of great fear least I should lose my heart in the pursuit of other things oh grant that I may not!

Wednesday. distractions in holy dutys were the prevaling evil in me. 25
I desire to aggravate against my self my sin, and fly onely to the blood of Jesus. And the more dead and hard hearted I am, the more rich is that grace of thine father that will accept me in thy son, notwithstanding: god mightily assisted me in my studys this day.

Because I find such deadness off affection to the Lord Jesus and such weariness off, at least want of delight in his service, together with so little hatred of and humiliation for these sins; these things sit pretty close upon my spirit this morning and make me affraid of my owne state. for I not onely am daly captivated by my iniquitys, but I am prone (which I most exceedingly and daly fear least I should be separated from christ thereby, as I deserv) to feel no necessity of the Lord Jesus to redeem me therefrom. I therefore am the more earnest for redemption from my spirit of whoardoms, because I feel I haue not power to keep desires after such a mercy. Lord art not thou as ready to giue me off thy spirit, as I am to giue If I could my spirit to all my pupils? why lord redeem and save me thou art my tutour, my father shut not out my prayers, deliver me above all things from that evil man my self and my spirit of backsliding.

Friday and Saturday. I find my spirit very apt to be gone off from de- 27
light in god, to please my self with my owne devices and contrivances. *I found myself taken in some falsity of speech on the Lord's Day by way of compliment though I am not able to justify it I condemn myself for it before God and desire to aggravate my sin against myself Lord lay it not to my charge.* I am much perplexed in spirit because I am both in a strait how to answer Mr. Stones motion;[21] and attend my fathers counsel. I know not what gods mind may be, I am in the dark. Also I meet with fears of wants and fayling of necessary winter supplys for cloathing: I desire and endeavour to strengthen my faith in god. but my sins darken my evidences of his love, Lord forgive and heal them, and supply these.

Sabbath day morning in prayers god helpt me to wrestle with him with 28
some earnestness for sanctifying grace that I may glorify him; and for as-

[21] It is not clear from the diary what the elder Wigglesworth's counsel may have been, but "Mr. Stones motion" was evidently the offer of a position as assistant or possibly as a colleague in the church at Hartford, where Samuel Stone was minister. This offer is again referred to on page 363 as "Harford motion."

surance of his love, that I may not deny him his glory by calling in questeon his wonderful love to me the chief of sinners: and for growth in grace. So also at night he made me pretty earnest with him for healing and amending of my backslidings for a new heart. And the rather for the sweet incouragement giuen me in his ordinances by his word; telling me of his omnipotency, and that as god can so he will do for those that take hold of his power to do for them. So I do endeavour and desire to do, and long for thy salvation Lord, let not my hope make ashamed, effect for me all that I need seeing thou art able, my greatest request is that I may glorify thee by making thee my daly trust. I find this impossible with me, but with thee all things are possible.

I found many vain things in the former part of the day and much deadheartedness before noon. but afternoon god in some measure helping me to hear himself speak things that concerned mee. Lord let me hear and see and feel thee daly for thou onely art my stay whom I chuse. fail me not, let not me fail thy expectation.

29 Heart much gone from god again this day in pride and some pang of passion and inconsiderate words I fear and vain distractions in prayer. God is nevertheless my refuge to whom I fly in this time of trouble. For my pupils all came to me this day to desire they might ceas learning Hebrew: I withstood it with all the reason I could, yet all will not satisfy them. I suspect the bottom is they look to commence within 2 years; and think (and some haue bin heard to express so much) that I retard them purposely. thus am I requited for my love; and thus little fruit of all my prayers and tears for their good. God made me earnest in pleading with him for help and hearing in these things for his owne glory. Now I will wait for his salvation When will the Lord appear? can his promiss fail? certainly it cannot Lord increase my faith.

30. I am ashamed of my pride which stil again prevails, when god marvelously assists me in dispute or discourse. Ah sinful heart! Is this thy requital of all the Lord benefits Is this the fruit of his chastizing the and letting the be buffeted with temptations arising from thy owne ignorance to humble thee. In the distress of my soul and in sorrow's and temptations I fly unto him and he entertains me, and do I thus requite him? God appear'd somewhat in inclining the spirit of my pupils to the study of Hebrew as I had pray'd that god would do, who can turn the heart as rivers of water. but my sins come in to stop mercys Lord forgiue and heal.

31 God hath somewhat endeared my heart to himself made himself sweet unto me by leaving me to distress of conscience and strong conflicts about doubtfull matters in practise: the principal whereof I think was no duty of

mine, but rather would have bin ridiculous to meddle. So that I know no rule of god but my heart desireth conformity thereto. And now this morning (thursday) the desires of my soul are after the Lord Jesus, that I may haue him for my resting place. I am exceeding affraid of losing him: sith I find multiplicity of occasions (that hinder much my studys) do expose me to think too much time spent in his service; my studys and my pupils are in danger to draw my affections from christ. And troubles that I meet with otherwise to abate my trouble for sin. Against these things I set my face. Lord giue grace that I may in all things honour the and not provoke and sin against thee; my eyes are to the and my hope is in thy help onely. September 1st.

what I feared I found this day my heart exceeding proud before meeting at Boston: in time of meeting strong conflicts I had and temptations to giue way to my sloutfull frame and distracting perturbances of mind. in a word a piece of hel I found in my heart. god helpt me over it somewhat to savour his rich grace which was held out in the sermon. o blessed be his name who lifteth me out of the lowest hel.

God caused me to taste an Emptiness in my studys, and to make my *soul* desire himself *God left me to speak somewhat in the welcoming of friends with my mother which my heart did not speak and therefore I desire to mourn before God for my falseness and hypocrisy.* I hope the Lord hath in some degree answered my long desires in graunting me of late a spirit of fear least I should lose christ (though mixt with unbeleif under which I desire to mourn) and of longing desires that I might, that I might daly haue communion with him and rest my soul in his bosom that I might make him my life; though I cannot attain it; but my heart is aboue all things deceitful, soon weary of following after god, apt to question the trueth of his promises at least my intrest in them, because such bent of spirit to rest in the creature to savour that more than god, and so little humiliation for such things as this, I cannot mourn bitterly for my grieving the spirit of christ Jesus. Why therefore I see the more necessity to fly onely to the blood of sprinkling, and to trust barely to his mercy and faithfulness, who hath once and again ingaged them and himself to me and particularly twice in the Lords supper; and that is the fruit that I find by that ordinance, vizt. that my faith is revived and supported amidst discouragements, by seeing the Lord hath given me his christ and his grace therein, and my unfaithfulness cannot make the faith of god of none effect; nor my want of sorrow for sin undoe me for I haue come to him for that grace in that ordinance; shal I perish for want of that which I come to him for? I lose my desires after this grace. yea but I came and daly come to christ, for a heart to desire him, and shall that be my bain? is there no balm in Gilead for these plague sores? {2 3

How glorious and precious are the words of my Lord Jesus to me when he opens my eys now but a little to see the loue and grace that breaths out of his heart to his people in giving himself to be fed on by them?

sabbath day 4 Deliver me our Lord from a spirit of impenitent security for I am not able to see the poison of my sin, and to loath my self for it: deliver from slouthfulness and sensuality: for all these I know wil be my bain this day, if thou prevent not. The good Lord forgiue and pardon and help though I be not prepar'd according to the preparation of the sanctuary. God did help me to lay hould of christ as my prophet priest and King whole christ I se need off, when as he exhibited himself to me in the sacrament. I find a stupid hard heart that cannot feel the sting of sin, and therefore I am unworthy of him. yea but god has exalted this christ (whom he now giues me) to be a prince and a Saviour to giue repentance and remission of sins, therefore I come to him the rather because destitute of all grace in my self. I was exercis'd with strong strugglings in my spirit to make out to my self that God has instituted this ordinance as a seal that he giues christ to every beleeving receiver as really as bread and wine: I can see that 'tis a representation of what christ has done for us, I cannot see so clearly that it sealeth the present gift of christ, as that it puts us in remembrance that christ has thus giv'n himself to us if upon examination we find that we belong to him. I longed to hear some means to help me over this simple, and because I could not therefore I was affraid I should partake unworthily. In some measure god helpt me to see christ giuing himself to me and to close with him whom god hath made wisdom because I am nothing but blindness and folly. I come to him the rather because I want eyes to see his glory and to understand his mysterys. Lord Jesus be my teacher! ah sinful wretch Laden with iniquity I find pride again and again prevail this day. god be merciful to the chief of sinners; I feelt at one short him that frame of not seing a glory in the blessed estate of the world to come, a stem of that root of amazing wickedness of my heart. why therefore I fly therefore. I cry to the Lord Jesus to save me. when shall thy salvation, Lord, appear according to thy promiss and my saviours purchase? Blessed be god for Jesus christ and for the hopes which I haue in him, o that my hopes might always be in him alone!

5 6 Munday and tuesday. I found iniquity, and apostacy of spirit from god so apt to creep in amidst my multitudinous occasions, too much bent of spirit to my studys and pupils, and affections dying toward god; that I am exceedingly affraid of my owne heart therefore I desire to be instant with god for pardon and succour and I cast my soul into the armes of his fatherly

protection; Lord let me be inabled daly to loue thee and follow hard after thee.

I am still exceedingly affraid of my whoarish heart and weary and asham'd of it. Lord! hast thou giv'n grace to dy for the to many of thy servants (their hearts lov'd thee so dearly) and shal not I haue or obtain grace to liue upon thee and unto thee; never any had more caus. I would ev'n lay violent hands upon this grace of god which I want: now is my gathering time, Lord, let me not be fruitless. myne eys and hands and tast are witnesses to me that thou hast giv'n me thy christ though (to my shame) my spot be not the spot of thy children, why give me grace to love him according to thy word. 7 Wednesday

The lord thus help's me over my doubts concerning the Sacrament If the onely end of it were to represent unto us what christ hath actually done for us: then when god call's me to discern the Lords body (that so I may not receiv unworthily) the meaning is either I am to beleiv that christ was made an offering for sin; and so may a Devil do; or a hypocrite may do it and so be a worthy partaker: or els I am bound to beleiv that christ hath after this manner giv'n himself to me heretofore, which beleiving, I discern the Lords body and am ergo a worthy receiver; but I may beleiv this (as some doe) and be mistaken, and so beleiving an untrueth makes me a worthy partaker. Therefore I am to beleiv. (if neither of the other suffice) that christ is just thus giv'n to me, to discern by faith god giving him now to me as surely as he gives me this bread and wine. Again if god did not now really give and offer christ, how could I by unbeleif be guilty of the body and blood of christ of dispizing it and spilling it on the ground,? for it may be I never had christ giv'n me really (that is made mine) heretofore.

Dies ult:/ Blessed be god the father of my Lord Jesus that hath brought me so near another Sabbath. Lord make it a day of rest to my troubled soul! I am at a strait concerning my answer to Harford motion; [22] I am indifferent to engage or not, to look toward England or not, if I could be clear in gods call. Friends advice cannot satisfy my conscience. who but God can now be my counseller? but god I am daly forsaking and dishonouring, by my pride and whoarish affections. I find not onely Emptines and dissatisfaction but difficulty in my study's yet my deceitful heart is prone to fly from one flower to another to quiet it self, and not go to god. I come to him to seek pardon of these sins, and supply of these wants, but with how little affection though seemingly earnest; my judgment tells me what reason there is I thould walk otherwise, but I cannot inforce my self to 10

[22] See note 21.

melting sorrow for the dishonour I do to god by my sin; I am affraid of it and disquieted with it till god giue me some hopes of his acceptance, but I cannot get my heart humbled under it; ah Lord why dost thou leav me to a spirit of errour? why doest thou harden my heart from thy fear? Outward wants at least the fear of them disquiets me, or would do: but I dare not let them make impression, nor be earnest with god for supply of them, lest, my desires thereof should exceed my desires of sanctifying grace. Behold Lord my pitiful case: remember thou art my father though I be a rebellious child: ah put a childlike spirit into me that I may make thee onely my trust. say to my soul it is not in vain to seek thee.

11 I found much deadness and little brokeness of heart for my sins this day, and some risings of Atheistic thoughts I find that the clearest Arguments that can be cannot perswade my heart to beleiv the being of a god, if god do not let the beams of his glory shine into it. I found also unbeleif, and discouragement my hands hang down and knees are feeble and I am ready to say 'tis in vain to seek sanctifying grace of god: or at least to think I am hardly dealt with that my prayers haue been so long shut out from acceptance. Ah Lord! hear the groans of thy poor prisoner, who desires to renounce all for thee and thy christ, and caus me not to err from thy wayes nor harden my heart. When Bashan Languisheth and Carmel &c. now do thou arise according to thy promiss. why should sathan, and my own unbelieving heart insult over me saying where is thy god? Let me find grace to giue thee glory.

13 Tuesday at night god helpt me to cast my self upon himself as my onely support with somewhat more affection, and taking hold of his promises than ordinary. my fear then was least I should more long after other things than deliverance from sin. Unbeleif is apt to prevail in my heart in that god so long refuseth to hear my prayer for my self and for others; yet I desire with patience to wait the Lords time submitting to his wil as best.

14 Lecture day./ I bless God for taking off my heart in any measure from my studys, and for making me see any need and haue any desire to find him in his ordinances. And that I found any awakening presence of his there. though for a great part of the while my heart was marvelous stupid considering that god put me in mind of my never enough bewayled grievings of his spirit by a fleshly heart both off, old, and at presente. when I came home I set my self to seek the Lord. for my whoardoms are many, and my grievings of christs spirit thereby, but my repentance small; my pride (as at this day) frequent, but my humiliation and soking sorrow seldom; for which caus I am affraid. I confes't these things with aggravation before the Lord, and he gaue me somewhat more affection; but yet

I fall short, and haue attained nothing compared to my sins. And thats the reason I attain not redemption because not weary and heavy laden with my sin as committed against god.

I find my usuall distempers pride and inordinate affection to the creature, weariness of gods worship, vain distractions in dutys, and manifold iniquitys breaking in like a flood. Lord in thy multitude of mercys pardon, heal, and take not thy holy spirit though grieved from me friday

This hath bin a day of great temptation; though the Lord hath not let me be very much distracted; yet so awakened as solemly to fly to the throne of grace and cry with all my might for preservation out of temptation or at least that I might not be forsaken so as to sin against god wittingly by any vain words unsutable to the day. The reason of this temptation was the being here of a stranger what we could not but intertain both in the Hall and our chamber. The Lord hear'd my poor broken disordered chatterings, and in som measure kept my self, and hept me to administer to others occasion of religious discours. Yet I find so much of that plague of pride which my soul hateth: of a heart that cannot desire great lettings out of christs love to me such as some times I haue felt which I dreadfully fear, such aptness to be weary of seeking god in his ordinances, to lose sence of my misery, of unbeleif: that I haue caus to sit downe astonied that such means produce so small effects in so long time. That which is wanting cannot be numbred; yet god is with me in his ordinances touching my heart in some measure with these things; oh that I could feel my owne emptiness so as not to know what to do without pardon and supply: as it was in the exigency above mentioned. Lord I bow the knees of my poor pining soul unto thy self my father, who art rich in mercy, compassionating oppressed sinners, that thou would seal to me pardon, and thy love and giue healing for thy faithfulness for thy glory, for thy son, for thy everlasting love sake.

I felt fears and misgivings about my good estate. yet much pride got head in me; and presently the Lord let loos upon me some scruples of conscience which put me in fear least I went cross to gods will, and this to abase me.

I found besides much prevalency of pride, a heart apt to run after mirth and recreation. God assisted me much in my study. And now shall I again take his name in vain in this approaching sabbath, which I find I haue too too much accustomed to, and look't at it as a light matter, not watch't against it as I should haue done; especially grieving god by vain thoughts. Lord forgiue this trespass, and giue repentance for and deliverance from this with all other abominations. 25

26 I haue found much of gods presence in his ordinances this day: much stirring my heart in the forenoon by such sutable trueths. Concerning the good ground and the effects of the word therein: yet at noon my filthy vile heart could find room for pride: and vain thought after noon in the beginning of the sermon exceedingly prevail'd whereupon when Mr. Mitchel came to uses of strong consolation from gods constancy in his loue I begin to question gods love to me; and that one crevis of hope that hath chered my soul so long when other evidences fail'd, god plucks that from mee too, at least suffereth unbeleef to darken it vizt my renewed acts of closing with christ at his supper. and other times. when I look upon my vile ungrateful impenitent whorish heart I am ashamed to think that god should love or owne me. I abhor my self o Lord for these renewed incurable distempers. I could even take vengeance of my cursed heart that is so deceitful and desparately wicked in impenitent departure from god. Nevertheless through the riches of thy grace I am imboldned to ask peace with god and pardon and communion with God (which my heart breaths after, for that is my life) and a new heart after thy owne wil. Hide not (my father) thy face from me, lest I be like one of those that go down to the pit, lest I sink in discouragement and say 'tis a vain thing to seek the Lord.

27 There was an Artillery sermon[23] here a munday. I found my heart secretly weary of the ordinance, and hankering after my studys or other occasions: a frame which I was exceedingly affraid of, and desire greatly to loath my self for. But Lord it puts me to a stand to think what mean's this that my heart is worst in appearance when I most earnestly strive but the day before for deliverance from these evils. How long oh Lord wilt thou be angry with my prayers? and withold mercy from me. I feel a heart that hath no power to cleav to thee ready to fall utterly from thee. I fly, I cry I cast my soul o Lord into thy armes. Lusts and creatures shall not haue my heart through thy grace, noe I set them all at a defyance. thee I desire to chuse, o leav me not! let iniquity never never, never haue dominion over me. forgiue I beseech thee my trespasses and cause thy face to shine upon me, and so shall I be saved.

28 4th day. works of iniquity prevail against me; I am unworthy to lift up mine eys to heaven, becaus proud and vain and forgetful of god. yet verily thou art my father, as thou givest me ground of incouragement; because I find a daly restlesness under sin committed without renew'd repentance; my soul is breathing after god with my spirit within me I de-

[23] The sermon which was delivered at the annual election of officers in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

sire him; Emptiness are all things else; god cleareth up to me his calling of me, and causing me sundry times to come to his son and close with him upon gospel termes especially thrice at the Lords supper; and if called then justify'd, and then I shall be sanctify'd. Lord realize this grace of thine unto me, for my unbeleiving heart can scarce reach to make these things real to me.

On the sabbath I found both bodily spirits and spiritual desires much dead and down the wind, yet the Lord keept me desiring of him. he is the onely soul satisfying good. October 2

Munday/ I found an unsavoury abominable spirit amidst godly persons and godly discours; and abundance of pride of the favour and acceptance I find with man. Outgoing of heart I fear too much after discours and dispute, and time mispent therein. for these things I desire to abase and abhor my self; ah Lord hide not thy face, harden not my heart from thy fear. 3

Again some prevailings of pride, and imprudence in not redeeming opportunitys of profitable discours for my owne furtherance. I find a heart so hard that cannot be affected or humbled for such things a slight spirit in performance of holy dutys that hanker's after my studys through unbeleef, which finding my self so unable to make work off, and that indeed I can do nothing, I am loath to rely upon and therefore to seek earnestly gods assistance. o Lord I beseech thee forgiue and saue me from all these abominations, be thou my strength. 4

Mr Sims[24] preaching at watertown upon this point a people that are near to god, may be not sought out but forsaken et contra; I haue not found more of the presence of god awakening and affecting me (even unto tears) for my sins, particularly of slighting and weariness of gods precious ordinances, unprofitableness under them, &c. my own iniquitys were so touch't; together with gods gradual departure from my self, and from this whole country, that took deep impression upon me. I was partly unwilling to goe to this lecture but company drew me on; and I bless god that he forsakes not me though I be forsaking him. the desire of my soul is that the fruit of such meetings with god might continue. but woe is me I find the same weariness of spiritual dutys the same carnal, formal, heart at a private meeting the same night, together with pride. 5

On friday I besought the Lord on purpose. for help in my studys finding some very difficult knot, and through mercy he help't me to se through it in some measure. the desire of my soul is after the Lord, but I find vain

[24] Zechariah Symmes, a graduate of Cambridge University, was pastor of the church at Charlestown from 1635 to 1671.

distractions so pestering me that I cannot seek him to purpose; pride prevail's also, and some mispence of time I fear. Lord forgiue and heal for thy mercy sake

Sabbath. Innumerable evils compass me about vain thoughts on gods day in his ordinances break in upon me like a flood. I am less than the least good thought. yet the evening before and this morning in prayer at the private meeting and in the hall god assisted me extraordinarily with his spirit in prayer; especially at our private meeting melting my heart before him.

I was sadly assaulted after noon when I heard of gods trueth with doubting whether ever word of the scripture were infallible because of possibility of mistakes in the writings and because of the points in the Hebrew, and the various readings in the text and margent. for these things (o Lord) I crave pardon, and bring my blind eys and vile heart to thee for healing. thou art he whom my soul desires to enjoy, whose wil I desire to know and do o teach me thy wayes thou art my god

I went through much business, and found god above my strength carrying me through intricacys two hard for me, at my earnest intreaty. But an unthankful heart I haue; pride and a frothy light unsavoury spirit, and so much spiritual cooling of affection toward god and his ordinances, little desire off opportunity to meditate off or hear god speak to me, all which are a burthen to me; and I am most affraid off a spirit so drown'd in my studys that savours not gods presence or ordinances. deliver me deliver me, O my father, from such iniquitys, pardon me for thy mercy sake, and faithfulness, heal my backslidings by converting grace, and love me freely, for thy love is better than wine. caus me really to se at once thy love and my own vileness.

12 Wednesday. Afore lecture the Lord much assisted my studys At meeting I found as my natural spirits faint so my spiritual affections low, and heart little stird. yet after I came home I set my self seriously to cry to heaven for pardon and deliverance especially from a heart that cares not for, that is weary of gods ordinances. It is a death to think of being left off gods spirit in his ordinances and left to set light by them. But Jehovah thou art my trust be thou my life.

14 friday morning. I had some fears in my spirit about the immutability of gods love in case I should fall away from him; but the Lord did in some measure clear the absolute stability thereof from the scripture. In the forenoon I met with great difficultys in my studys and my strength failed me, I besought the Lord for his help, and though in the forenoon I could make nothing off it, yet afternoon I was exceedingly helped and my work made

marvelous easy. But ah! ungrateful heart, I take gods name in vain in my nearest approaches to him, and prophane his ordinances for this I am not able to stand before him. God brought to my mind in special (being at a private meeting) my want of love and dutifulness to my parents, which I beg'd pardon of

And the very next morning news is brought me of my fathers death. 15
whereupon I set my self to confess before the Lord my sins against him in want of naturall affections to, and sympathy with my afflicted parents, in my not prizing them and their life which god hath graciously continued so long. My great request is for pardon of all former sins, and present deliverance from a stupid frame of spirit unsensible of gods visitation and my owne loss in losing such friend. my humble supplication is to the Lord to sanctify his hand to me and all of us whom it concerns and to become a father of the fatherless and husband to the widdow. my Father dyed the first of october.

On the sabbath I was earnest with the Lord not to giue me over unto a 16
spirit senseless of his afflicting providence, and to forgiue all my sin in that kind; in not being so instant with god as I ought to haue bin for my fathers like &c. ut supra. I was much exercised with scruples of conscience in some old cases *(as Mister Mildmay's sword and Major Sedwick's*[25] *son)* but I desired to lay down my soul at christs foot, and to know his wil that I might obey it. Lord lead and guid thou me in a right path. God discover'd that unto me, that makes me fear I haue faln far short of my duty in making use of christs merit to plead for sanctifying grace. withold it not from me for that caus, o my god!

Tuesday morning. *I found the same cause of crying earnestly to the Lord and* 18
of grace for a right spirit under God's afflicting hand that I might not be secretly glad that my father was gone. I have given God much business this day and done much for others but I have no confidence nor satisfaction in mine own doings but my soul longs for the Lord When wilt thou come unto me Pardon I beseech thee my pride my stirring affections my taking of thy name in vain in giving of thanks and seize at my soul with thy goodness. The last night some filthiness in a vile dream escaped me for which I loathe myself and desire to abase myself before my God O Lord deliver me from the power of that evil one.

Wednesday. I was at Watertown lecture where the Lord awakned me 19 20
with the sence of that monstrous vileness of my heart that cannot desire heaven and communion with christ; and stird me up that night and the next morning and night to cry and strive earnestly with god for redemp-

[25] Robert Sedgwick was one of the founders of the Artillery Company and a leading figure in the colony.

tion, giving me some weak measure of faith to beleev that my seeking should not always be in vain.

24 The latter part of the week I spent in preparing to preach at Chalstown. In my private studys the Lord much assisted me; But I spent near three days in the same, whereas one day at Martins Vinyard sufficed me, Like those that gathered manna, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack. When I came in publick the Lord much assisted me, and emboldned me, and when I came to close application much inlarged me; As I return'd home that night through some feared neglects of my duty, I had some ecclyps of my comfort in god (who is my onely portion, whom I am not worthy to name) but god remov'd in some measure those feares and how sweet was his returns to my soul? my heart blesseth him that he takes any cours to make himself precious to me at any time; woe is me! that it is so often otherwise through a spirit of whoardoms, ah Lord remember not inquitys against me for thy tender mercy sake, remove pride and apostacy of heart far from me.

On the 2d day at night in my sleep I dream'd of the approach of the great and dreadful day of judgment; and was thereby exceedingly awakned in spirit (as I thought) to follow god with teares and crys until he gaue me some hopes of his gracious good wil toward me.

25 The next day I found my self unable to make any work of it at my studys. pride prevailing.

26 Wednesday. My iniquitys are extream pride which I am weary of as a body of death and ashamed off before god; and a mind ful of distractions in holy dutys; neglect of improvement of opportunity of discours for advantage in my studys: negligence in not redeeming the opportunity to send a letter to Harford according to promiss. I know not what to do but my eys are to thy son Jesus christ. hide not thy face from me; my soul cleaveth after thee o Jehovah; I deserv to be confounded by the; but let mercy pleas thee, thou art my god; thou wilt be my redeemer.

29 On the last day I went to Concord where I preach't out of Isaiah 57. 1. I had but extream short time. some few thoughts I had had of it before, but not resolved to take it till sunset the Last day night; gods assistance was here the more remarkable.

Tuesday I drive the time of my return so long till it was so late they would not suffer me. wednesday. It began to snow exceedingly so that I saw god locking me up there to wait his pleasure; it continued snowing til it was knee deep, so that I knew not when I was likely to return: then I recall'd how in all the journeys of that nature I haue taken these many years god has cros't me remarkably, the Lord shew me his mind in it. I set

my self seriously to seek the Lord, and he heard me and caused it to rain on thursday and that night so as abated the snow to the ankles thereby giuing me a season of returning on friday. what shal I render to the Lord for all his benefits.

In this my journey I haue met with sundry trials and temptations. As 1st feares concerning my owne estate when I feel such a wicked heart as cannot love and desire communion with god, as can be weary of gods service, and be eager to be at other studys: this is an amazing consideration to me, and I know not what to do; but the Lord he awakens me to find some need of him by other providences that set me a seeking him with fear least any iniquity should separate me from him. *As in point* of *their not reading any part of God's word in public duties at Mister Bulkeley's*[26] *I questioned exceeding whether I were not bound in conscience to speak something to him of it The scruple still remains Lord* assail *it.* be thou the strength of my heart and my portion for ever: for I find an end of all other perfection. Vanity of vanities all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

Saturday at night I was importuned to go preach at Roxbury because the Elders were both ill. I did so, and preacht out of the same text I had done at concord. the Lord assisting me more than formerly when I preach't the same.

Munday and tuesday the Lord mightily facilitated my studys and prosper'd me therein: yet takes off my affections from them, so that my soul longs for Jehovah. Behold I see an end of all perfection; vexation in studys when most succesful; in pupils, o Lord be thou my portion.

wednesday. I feel such distractions in holy dutys, such deadness of heart 9
at lecture, such pride in divine assistance and in my own notions, even then when I haue bin taught to haue no confidence in the flesh, a pang of worldly desires amidst hearing the word, that I am ashamed to lift up my face to heaven: father forgiue or else I perish, Oh hide not thy face which is my life from me.

I think I haue found of late more ful purposing to follow the lord universally, and more longings after the returns of his spirit to my soul after communion with him than formerly, especially since the discovery of my want of love to and desires after God at Concord. yet abundance of pride prevails and some whoarish affections, which I am ashamed of before god. On the last day the Lord awakned me to seek him earnestly both for pardon and grace against the evils of my owne heart, and for mercy to this society.

But above all my vileness breakes forth again whilest I am hearing the

[26] Peter Bulkeley, one of the founders of Concord, was minister of the church there.

word. An Atheistic irreverent frame seizeth upon me; and whilest God is bidding me see his glory I cannot see it; vile and unworthy conceptions concerning god come into my mind. I cannot desire heaven because 'tis a place where I shall see and wonder at and acknowledge the glory of god for ever; But I rather desire a heaven where I might be doing for god than onely thinking and gazing on his excellency. Blind mind! Carnal heart! I am affraid, ashamed, heavy laden under such cursed frames of heart, as ever and anon beset me. My soul groans my body faints o Lord whilest I pray and cry to the for pardon and redemption. Is there no baulm in Gilead? no physician there? Look down and see my plague sores which I spread before thee my saviour; wounds and old putrifyd sores which provoke the Lord, stink in his nosthrils, and poison the peace and comfort of my own soul. Behold I am vile, when thou showest me my face I abhor my self. who can bring a clean thing out of filthiness, I was conceived bred brought up in sin. O redeem from these devouring Lyons the hopeless shiftless soul that thou hast purchased.! I deserv to be the stepping-stone of thy wrath why behold I lay my self at the foot of mercy as low as thou wouldst have me, confessing my self the cheeif of sinners. Lord what wouldst thou haue me to doe? shew me thy wil, and bow my heart to obey it, and I haue what I do desire. O lift up the light of thy countenance upon me and hear my prayer; shut it not out for ever.

Munday. when I come in company affections dead toward god, and too much savouring the creature. also pride; and aptness to be ensnared by my tongue hereupon fears and misgivings but the Lord in mercy scattered them.

15 Tuesday morning. I found special assistance in prayer. the Lord causing my heart to love him. I fear least I should griev him in not obeying all his known wil, but for this I wil trust him, who alone wil work all my works in me and for me.

16 Wednesday morning. I had bin much perplexed with the ill carriage of one of my pupils, and had some thoughts of admonishing him openly, I besought the Lord before hand and he guided me to act in a fairer way; and ishued my trouble to my good satisfaction. But o pride pride, and outwandrings of heart from my resting place. Lord lay them not to my charge; for thou art the desire of my soul hide not thy face from me.

Thursday 17 yesterday I was in a doubt whether I should goe to watertown lecture or not because of multiplicity of business; I went nevertheless. And this day through Gods assistance I haue done as much as I used to doe in two dayes

Friday morning the Lord let in some comfort in that, though I be sin-

ful and impotent unto any thing that is good yet he hath made christ righteousness and strength to me and accepts me through him. which was evidenced to me by my longings and reachings of heart after the Lord not finding satisfaction any where else: And in my desiring the promoting of Gods glory, that he may be advanced by my self and many others. How can I loue the Lord or his glory except he haue lov'd me; and if he haue so done he wil ever do the same.

Dies ult. The Lord's Supper being nigh: I am affraid at the thoughts of it; And wel I may having a heart so vastly unsutable to be at any time near god, More fit to ly lowest in Hel that I might be farthest from him. For upon search I find, (yea I haue dayly found, though not sufficiently felt) 1: A blind mind, often questeoning the most Palpable truth's and unable to clear them to my self though I would never so fain. As whether God be: whither the scriptures be his word, and that alone without corruption, at least through errour crept into the text. How it appear's that the Lords supper is a seal as wel as a sign; which doubt I was sorely assaulted and buffeted with the last Lord's supper. Whither christ's purchase were of all the good I need, or onely of pardon of sin and deliverance from wrath; other things being freely giv'n of god without any purchase, though disposed by christ; this doubt I am scarce able to extricate my self from by the word of god as yet, though I exceedingly desire it and do grope after the light. And so for light in my daly actions. Fearful shakings frequently assail me, and I would stand fast upon the word of god but I can find no foot-hold. My knowledge and faith is thus assaulted by the powers of darkness when I should be nearest God to receiv much good from him; thus pittifully am I made to stagger instead of coming to him. 2: Carnal security and hardness of heart all sence of want and misery gone, when I approach to the fountain of mercy, especially in hearing the word. 3. whoarish affections apt to rest in the bosom of creatures. 4. Want of dear love to the Lord Jesus and his appearing, a Brutish swinish heart that cannot savour Heavenly things and spiritual ordinances. 5. Pride. 6. Slouth. 7 Vain distractions in holy dutys. 8. want of sence and sorrow for my Fathers death, o Lord forgiue! 9. want of heart to seek Gods glory 10. Unfruitfulness under so many means of grace, and daly visitations of gods spirit; who having the like would not bring forth more fruit? I hope the Lord hath of late giv'n me a little ground against inordinate affection to the creatures, and made my soul to breath somewhat more after himself; which I sought him for in such opportunitys as these heretofore.

I came to the Lord supper under the guilt of all these iniquitys, and with

the plague of a hard heart little affected or sensible of all this sin and misery considering it was so great. But I saw the more need of a saviour to deliver me from the guilt of so fearful abominations and to save me from the power. I saw need of a priest to reconcile me to god. and yet no less need of a prophet to teach, and of a King to rule me, to bring all my lusts into subjection, such a christ I desired and still desire to close with, and no other christ I would haue. God helpt me in some measure against my blindness of mind, and doubts concerning the doctrin of god which I besought him for and was affraid of; and sent me out of his presence. I hope somewhat incouraged in the grace which he had made mine by his gift and my receiving yet afternoon I was assayled with feares in reference to my unsensibleness under gods visitation in my fathers death and I feared least there should be some root of bitterness that I were not willing to part with, unsearched out. But I know none, Lord search and try me, and make me upright before thee. yea blessed be thy name for Jesus christ in whom thou wilt redeem my soul from distruction, and crown me with loving kindness and tender mercys, Lord I beleiv help my unbeleif.

Munday. my spirit was much sunk within me being conscious to my own weakness and fearful to check some disorder in the scholars, I besought the Lord and he helpt me against my fears, and assisted me to it in such manner, as I was proud of it, O wretched worm that I am! O body of death! do I thus requite the Lord? The Lord made me earnest with him for pardon and more grace.

2 wednesday was a day of publick humiliation. I desir'd to bless god (so far as I know my owne heart). that as he had giv'n me christ to be bread of life to me, so now he put an opportunity into my hand to sue for supply of my great spiritual wants. but I could not with all I could do get a melting broken heart this day; but I had a hard heart besides all other plagues to spread before the lord: Lord look down in mercy and let not my soul sinking iniquitys be my ruin. I know not what to do: harden not my heart from thy fear, nor this day pass away without some wound to my sin, and some quickening to the graces of thy spirit in me, for the lords sake that I may enjoy the, thee for my portion, and glorify the onely, continually. be graciously reconciled to the cheif of sinners in thy welbeloved for thy favour is better than life, help me to prize it constantly, for so brutish am I that of my self I cannot. forgiue in mercy the pride and hardness, and vain thoughts of this day.

25 *I am ashamed and know not what to do because I find such fearful prevailing of pride the next day after I have betook myself most solemnly to the Lord to deliver me therefrom. I may groan with the Israelite and say my bondage is rather*

increased when I begin to stir for deliverance O Lord why hast thou hardened my heart from thy fear or sufferest me to err from thy ways O return to me for thy servant sake thou art mine only hope./I was quite puzzled this day and the greatest part of it could do just nothing.

Since the fast day till now I haue scarcely bin wel, nor am yet. On the sabbath I preached out of Psalms 81. Israel would none of me &c. Gods spirit did not enlarge my heart as sometime it hath done; when I come to speak in Cambridge, I haue twice found god shutting up my heart; so that I am ashamed to think that I marr the word of god I meddle with. yet pride fearfully assailed me the next day, and deadness of affections godward. I am affraid least the Lord for these things should take his holy spirit from, and giue me to my owne hearts lust. o Lord why dost thou leav me to err from thy wayes and harden my heart from thy fear? How long shall I liue in thy world to dishonour thee? O pardon my iniquity for thy favour is my life, and shine upon me with thy grace and I shall be saved! {27 29

The Lord helps my soul to long somewhat for himself and to fear the losing of his spirit which I grieve and to seek earnestly his assistance in my study which I have found these two days though almost discouraged with difficulty yet carried on by God's power and strength and the rather because tis his work that Iam about. But O my many sins Lord forsake me not 30

The last day I found so much trouble of the spleen, as forced me to leav study. I preacht notwithstanding at charlstown the Lord much assisting me and imboldning. The church sent to me after sermon, and I could not get off without engaging to preach once a month til March equinox. I partak't of the Lord's supper at Charlstown the Lord helpt me to desire and close with whole christ. yet my affections were but low. And since I find pride monstrously prevail. o Lord why is sin strongest when I come to christ Jesus to subdue it? Is there no plaster that can heal this sore? thou art my hope, o be thou myne help; deliver me from my owne heart.

On the lecture day I heard awakening truths. we were call'd upon to a serious hearty mourning for sin. the want of this is the reason we liue without or with so little assurance of gods favour. I could not get my heart then affected with sin; no I had no incouragement to set my self to it; so blockish and stupid am I that a little meditation wil take no impression upon me. yet the Lord gaue me a sweet and supporting meditation amidst the pittiful impotency of my owne I think on friday morning.

Gods visiting hand has now pluckt away 4 from us in a few days Goodmen Bancroft, Wilcock; Briggan, Cane.[27] all bretheren of our church.

[27] Roger Bancroft, William Wilcock, Thomas Brigham, and Christopher Cane were

I went to the graue of the last upon the last day, and there I had some serious thoughts about this token of the heat of gods great anger, and my own sin kindling thereof. I came home and set my self seriously to meditate, and call over the sins of my whole life by a Catalogue. And the Lord was pleased to set in, and in some measure break my heart for them. showing me my desert to be kickt out of this world because I haue not had naturall affections to my natural father, but requited him and all my governours evil for good: and to be shut out of the world to come, because I haue rebell'd against and dishonour'd and disregarded my heavenly father, been a viper in his bosom where he has nourished me. And especially because I am the man who sin to death god['s] precious servants, a sinner that destroy much good, that drive away god from the place and society where I liue, and pull down wrath; yea I haue sin'd to death the Lord Jesus, this most affected me that I haue crucify'd the Lord of glory, and as if that had not been enough I am daly grieving and wounding his heart afresh, yet so blockish am I (O monstrous hardness!) that I can go up and down the world little afflicted and grieved with it.

And o then what need haue I of a saviour whom god holds out to me this morning publickly as the onely way of favour with god. O let him be mine! let thy favour be mine o Lord! pardon my sin that I may not come into condemnation; neither visit my sins upon others. rather let thy hand be upon me o Lord for my sins than upon others for my sake, I haue done wickedly, but as for these poor sheep whom thou afflictest, what haue they done; especially what haue my pupils done whom thou hast blasted and scattered, and one thou hast taken away for my sin in too eager seeking their good with neglect of communion with my god. if they haue sinned, yet Lord forgive them they know not what they do. but I haue known sin, and tasted thy sweetness, seen thy glory, yet despiz'd thee. For this cause my soul fails within me sometimes but o let thy mercy in christ Jesus speedily prevent me. shew thy glory in pardoning the chief of sinners all his inquitys. I haue not layd to heart the beginnings of thy visitation, when 2 were taken away from us, and two from the church; so the Lord rents away 2 more church members, and come again with sickness into the college. Lord pardon my sin which helps forward this wrath and turn to us in tender mercy (o thou my god whom my soul desires), for I haue no hope no portion but thy free mercy in christ Jesus and thy love which is better then life.

Munday at night being the preparation to the fast I set my self to pray,

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all members of the church in Cambridge and freemen of the colony. Bancroft and Brigham had served as selectmen and in other town offices.

but for confusion and distraction of spirit could make nothing of it. Finding my stomack very weak and my body faint I was bold to eat a hearty supper; afterward the Lord shew'd me I had done evil, and against the nature of a fast, and that I had been heretofore too much tainted with that too much indulgency to my appetite, especially on the Lords days, under pretence of the trouble which I find by an empty stomack. Lord I bless thee for discovery of any evil. after this the Lord something assisted me in meditation and prayer the same night.

The next day perceiving how the tokens of gods displeasure were upon me many wayes, in crossing my hopes and scattering my pupils being angry at my prayers, and also refusing to giue me victory over my corruptions, yea suffering them to prevail most after solemn seeking of deliverance at his hand. I desired to humble my self under the mighty hand of god and to acknowledge my iniquitys all of them, and the desire of my soul was after the Lords face and favour, for it is my life;. Brother Danforth[28] exercising afternoon and declaring the causes that he found of lying low and being abased before god, so hit my sins one after another, with such affection, that I know that ever my heart melted into such plenty of teares so long together, at the sight of all my iniquitys; security and thence arizing. Atheism unbeleef, want of love to the Lord Jesus who loved me in the midst of my misery, slouthfulness, want of love to the people of god, little good done little receiv'd: that night in prayer the Lord incouraged me that I should be heard.

Next morning God shew'd me a great reason why he refuseth to answer my petitions is because I haue not been deeply sensible of my own utter unworthyness; this I desire more to see. yet o the wearines and secret hankering after an end of such services! O the pride and sensuality of this day again! Lord I deserv non-attention to my cry, but rather to be given into myne iniquitys hand, I deserv thy displeasure and wrath, but o deliver me from both for thou art all my portion, if thou fayl me wo is me for all is gone. but thou art a god that pardonest iniquity and healest it because mercy in christ Jesus pleaseth thee, therefore haue I hope.

God hath prosper'd me this day in every thing I set my hand unto, both in my own studys and in my pupils diligence. abundance of work he has carryd me through o blessed be his name; but I haue no confidence in my doings my soul longs after gods grace through christ Jesus.

[28] This may have been Thomas Danforth, then treasurer of Harvard College and later Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts; or it may have been Samuel Danforth, who graduated from Harvard in 1643 and worked with John Eliot as missionary to the Indians.

Friday morning I could not make out to myself the devine authority of Mark and Luke's gospel because they were no Apostles. I desired to be humbled for my owne blindness, and betook my self to the giver of wisdom, for understanding to know his word and his wil. Pride still giues me the foil notwithstanding all my striving against it.

17 Saturday. I am affraid least I should fall short through unbeleif: yet I know on whom I haue trusted.

18. I discover this day slouth again in not using betimes to seek the Lord. o prophane heart to whom god is not worth abiding a little hardship for. A confused spirit distracted me in private prayer though not in the perfomance of publick dutys. Carnal security, that Laodicean frame that I am rich and feel no present pinching wants when I come to gods ordinances, that I haue lost the sence of sin and desire after christ for my self and desire him onely or cheefly for others; the thoughts of this dismayeth me. When I come to be desired to repeat the sermon publickly, being assisted pretty wel to perform it pride seizeth on me, for which presently in prayer I judge and desire to loath my self before god. Lord teach me once to think lowly of my own doings. After this it was told me that some sayd I made the sermon better than it was preached; here I excused and put from me such a thing. the Lord sets this upon my spirit and layes me at his foot under the guilt and acknowledgement of hypocrisy. o clense me my god from falshood and all guil; wash me from my guilt I beseech thee and redeem from the power of my iniquitys for thou art my god. overcome my unbeleef and all my evil with thy goodness.

20 Tuesday at night I was at a private meeting where I found the Lord awakening my heart by a sermon repeated out of that text because of the abounding of iniquity the love of many shall wax could. abundance of iniquity is therefore in my heart whose loue to christ is waxt so could.

Thursday I spent in study to prepare for the next day which was a day of private humiliation in our colledge. I found the Lord somewhat affecting my heart upon the fast day morning, but afterward again heart very hard, and little sence of my owne wants and woes, stirrings of pride I think even then when I should haue been onely self vile. yet toward the evening when I came to speak my self out of 1 samuel 7. 3 the Lord mightily flowed in upon my spirit, both affecting and emboldning my owne heart, and furnishing me both with variety of matter and heart breaking expressions, and did even wonder at the divine assistance for I had had little time to study and scarce time to read over what I had writ. the like enlargement I found in prayer so that I admired at gods lifting me aboue my self and the rather becaus he hath twice shut up my heart before when I came

to speak before the students. I was affraid of a storm of pride after this and I begged of the Lord power against it which in some measure he graunted blessed o blessed for ever be his name.

Yet the next morning I was miserably foiled with pride, in dispute, which I was suddenly abashed with and ashamed off within my self, and am so the rather because I had bin near god in my morning meditation desiring to put away Baalim and Ashtaroth and to serv the Lord onely. O Ephraim thy goodness is like the morning dew! Lord pardon. hide not thy face from me. my soul longs for Jehovah. I find no rest for the sole of my foot els where.

this night speaking at the meeting the Lord discover'd to me that I had oft times been too impetuous and peremptory in my prayers For the good of others. god wil haue earnest yet humble petitioners.

Mr Mitchel preacht from 1 John.17. his use was for trial whither the 25
grace of god belong to us yea or no; Art thou in christ, dost thou beleev. here god in some measure cleared my intrest in christ from my faith, which is indeed the main evidence I haue. yet I find it hard to make this real. can god love such a proud, carnal, secure, hardhearted wretch as nothing wil mend? yes for christs merits he can and doth. Lord I beleiv, help my unbeleif.

Afternoon I found god awakening me from that doctrin the death of the righteous unlamented is a forunner of evil to come. O Lord my security I am shut up and cannot come forth. I am ashamed to think of what opportunitys I enjoy and what pains god takes with me yet my ould sores stil running: he is oft awaking me in his ordinances, and in his sanctuary I haue another sight of things, but o my goodness is as the morning dew. I am affraid of my senselesness of my fathers death. also of my secure hard heart the Last sacrament I was at at charlstown, and this last fast; for these I begg remission. Lord I hoped to haue bin a stander in the gap, but thou wilt make me see that I am a maker of breaches by my security and a hastener on of wrath.

2d.3d day./ Boldness to transgress the colledge law in speaking Eng- 27
lish[29] I am guilty of and so off distracted wandrings in prayr and giuing of 28
thanks. is this my reverent serving and seeking the Lord. So pride on tuesday. for which cause I am even ashamed heavenly father to look up. God awakned me this evening in the hall at Exposition, with fear because I could not feel that groaning after the resurrection which the Apostle speaketh of Romans. 8. oh the stupid security and sensuality thats daly creeping into

[29] The laws of the college at this time required the members to converse in Latin.

my heart. o when Lord shall I be delivered! return o Lord with thy pleasant bewty to me and make thy loue a real thing to me for the Lords sake.

I am ashamed before the Lord to think of such a prophane spirit of Esau which I find to haue my mind running after my breakfast whilest I was reading the word of god. O what need of a redeeming kinsman; of a brazen serpent to fly to when stung with fiery serpents! o Lord be reconciled to me, and turn from thy displeasure; behold I take hold of thy strength according to thy word, let me make peace with thee, as thou promisest, not for my faith but for thy faithfulness and son his sake.

Friday morning the Lord gaue me a more liuely meditation than ordinary, both helping me to judge and abase my self and yet to beleiv his grace.

Jan 1 Jan. 1. On the Lords day I was at charlstown and preach't there and
2 received the sacrament. wo is me! what a blockish secure heart I find that cannot be sensible of my wants, though before hand I know them, and see they are such are ready to swallow me up every day. Lord withdraw not the blessing of thy ordinance from me therefore, for whole christ I long for. yea but sometimes I find no power to long after christ, but I come to thee to work in me. both to wil and to do. Lord I abhor my self for my pride for stirrings of fleshly lusts: Behold I am as a beast before thee and I am even weary of my self and off the world by reason of my sinful self. yet I am unfit for heven, because unfit for earth; and therefore fit for hel and no other place. yet Lord if thou wilt own and accept and bless such a wretch and honour thy self by me, shal not Eternity sound forth thy praises for such grace? do it then Lord for thy name sake!

On the lecture day I was affraid of the Lords hand being again strech't out to destroy us, Gest being dangerously ill at the time.

8 Jan. 8. On the sabbath and before it I found god awakening with fears lest I should never haue mourned aright for sin, vizt. as it grieveth and wrongeth god. And verily I feel little of that spirit, what cause to be for ever ashamed that I haue enjoyed such means and such a hard heart to this day. but I hope there hath been some degree of that sorrow, Lord encreas it. God further awakned me by his word from 57. Isaiah. 1 for my security and all those fearful evils arising therefrom, which I therefore bemoaned my self off before the Lord. as being sensible that my sins are ready to swallow me up and tis impossible for me to keep near god except the Lord put forth his almighty power. I am affraid of my own evil heart yea I feel the plague upon me that wil be my ruin unless the Lord prevent, which I trust he wil do. O forgiue the weariness of thy service this

day and my whoarish heart. I fly onely to the blood of a saviour for attonement and there I rest, Lord cast thou not off my soul, be not far from me.

munday I found pride monstrously prevailing, for which I am ashamed 9
and know not what to do. *I found also some scruples of conscience whether it be my duty to speak to some to* see *whether there be no snow drifted in over some studies*. I know not what my duty is. I am foolish and blind and sinful, and therefore exceeding affraid lest any thing should separate me from my god, either for the present or for ever; for my soul chuseth god for my portion and longs for him both now and for ever. therefore I earnestly beg pardon of sin and the grace of his spirit for time to come that I may once cease to rebell against him. ah Lord pitty me for thy name sake. I disputed for Ramus in the Distribution of the 2d part of Logick against Richardson[30] my Arguments found such acceptation with the seniours (though contrary to their former apprehensions) that pride prevailed upon me poor fool that knew nothing as I ought to know.

Thursday. I find not onely pride mightily prevailing but also, a slouth- 12
ful, sensual, secure heart that can secretly hanker after other bestowing of my time than in seeking god and reading his word, when god giveth me opportunity. this makes me affraid of my own sincerity. Oh! I find such a bottomless gulf of vileness in my heart that I am ready to fear lest there be no trueth in such a prophane deceitful heart. for this cause I fly and with the outstretched desires of my soul I cry to my heavenly father for pardon and redemption.

The next day morning and evening the Lord awakened me by the fear of that evil which I yesterday discovered in my self to seek him earnestly. Because I find my self not able to desire communion with him in any ordinance, if he leav me to the woful prophaness of my own heart.

On the sabbath day I found prevailings of pride, and weariness of tak- 15
ing pains in seeking god. yet the Lord did awaken me to seek him earnestly though not without reluctancy, partly through slouth partly through unbeleif. I am saying in my heart what profit wil come to me by seeking god; I pray and come to sacraments &c. and find no good; hence I am secretly loath to come often to such ordinances, my heart is in a bad frame and I cannot get it out: When I bethink my self how god brought me out of the

[30] The logic of Petrus Ramus was followed by all New England theologians. Alexander Richardson, a tutor at Queen's College, Cambridge, was the author of a popular commentary on Ramus. Wigglesworth seems to have been arguing that Ramus' original organization of the subject was better than the slight modification of Richardson. See Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), chapter v.

miery clay and horrible pit, and purchased me by the blood of his son to do him service; o me thinks were I any other then a beast, why I should not refuse to suffer the torments of hel all my dayes upon earth if he would so haue me to glorify him: but now the painful performance of any spiritual duty is too much to undergo cheerfully for his sake. god and christ are not worth taking an hours pains for. Lord what shal I say? thou hast redeemed me, led me through a howling wilderness to humble me, and there spoken to my heart, visited me oft in thy ordinances, yet I haue lost my affections to the (or else I never had them) thou hast smitten me and the tokens of thy displeasure are upon me, yet I haue not been reclaimed. neither the fire of thy love nor the furnace of gentle affliction haue purged away my dross? Lord what wilt thou do with me,? hast thou no plaister that wil cure these wounds? Oh remember thy covenant, and bowels of mercy, and son christ Jesus lose not thy glory in pardoning the cheif of sinners for my unworthyness.

16 17 18 2d & 3d day I found abundance of pride. conceitedness of my own notions ah! wretched creature who shal deliver me from this body of death. yet the 4th day morning I had a sweet reviving meditation god perswaded my heart, that notwithstanding my unspeakable vileness, yet if christs righteousness might be accounted mine, I should be acceptable to god and beloved; and also he cleared to me that he had given christ to me and drawn me to him; ergo Therefore my soul findeth sweetness in god oh that I might go away and sin no more against him. Get from me unbeleef it is not in vain to seek him for this also.

19 20 That 4th day with the 2 next I enjoyed more sweet affectionate melting meetings with god than ordinary. yet when god is nearest to me I am wandring farthest from him. so much pride as is entrapping me every where that I cannot get victory over; such outgoing of affections after my study and impatiency in that I make no more riddance of business; such fretting against others dulness to learn Lord I deserv to be forsaken by thee, as I haue forsaken thee and gone awhoaring, I am affraid of losing thee who art my onely resting place, my hearts content. Ah Lord! what worthless things are all my own services my two main petitions this morning were that I might enjoy thee, and glorify thee; but loe to dishonour thee I ceas not, I can do no action for thee; but how much against thee, and therefore I deserv to lose thee. Lord I ly down in my shame and misery at thy footstool.

22 on the sabbath day God touched my very plague sores vizt these things kept me from coming to christ and finding the good I want in him. 1st sencelesness of my owne need of him. 2ly Ignorance of christ his worth

3ly Quieting my heart with other things before I find him 4ly the enmity of my heart against him. 5ly slouthful negligence in seeking after him. The great evil that I conflicted with again this day was a greater desire of others finding christ than of my own. I find that amazing iniquity at the feeling whereof my soul is even filled with confusion many times I care not for more communion with christ. And as for conformity to him though I long after it yet I cannot beleev that I shall obtain it. these evils I was groaning under and conflicting with this day. I am worn out with study wel nigh; yet god reneweth my strength.

Friday night. God awakens my heart to cry after him; seeing that 27
even hypocrites may tast of the joys of the world to come, and suffer persecution for christ, and I sometimes find such a monster of iniquity in my self that I can see nor tast no excellency in communion with god, how seldom is it that I having a living sight of him? this Lord I groan under as my greatest plague.

I found my heart very dead and unable to be affected with gods grace in the Sacrament yet fear'd and strive against it least I should prophane gods ordinance. God helpt me nevertheless I hope with truth of desires after whole christ, and so to close with him The Lord awakened me again at night with report that one of my pupils had broke his arm, which was not true, yet sanctify'd by god to awaken me at that time my soul blesseth god when I find it otherwise.

My soul longeth for the Lord, not onely for pardon from him, when 30
my sins beset me roundabout and the tokens of gods displeasure are upon me and the country, but also for his sweet soul satisfying presence which is the life of my heart, Lord pardon my sin and heal my backslidings and love me freely.

February 1/

The desire of my soul is that I could see God in christ Jesus to be the cheef of 10000s, and walk all the day long in the light of his countenance. I am affraid of losing him whom my soul loveth, by losing my love to him. I find it not possible of my self to maintain it. sin estrangeth my heart, and opens a dore to unbeleif, creature comforts poison my affections; my love becomes a lust to other things. Though my plague sores be every day breaking forth to gods dishonour, and ready to separate my soul from god (which makes me long for deliverance from them, and for continuance of gods sweet soul satisfying presence) yet such is my unbeleef and slouth, and over-valewing of other studys, that I cannot with willingness take time and paines to cry mightily to god, until he reveal himself and love

clearly to me and subdue my iniquitys. I am most unsensible of my present necessity of christ, when nearest to him in publick ordinances, and do what I can my desires are rather carried that others may find him that are wholy without him, than my self. Lord help me for I am imprisoned by my iniquitys and cannot come forth. Let it be possible with thee to uphold by thy right hand that so I may follow hard after thee. O take away all iniquity; my slouth and unbeleif especially; Father teach me thy wil and let me obey it in love with delight for thy name sake which thou hast begun to glorify in the cheef of sinners.

The Lord pleas'd after this to give me some measure of confidence in him and communion with him in prayer ☞ tis not in vain to seek him.

4 Yet oh how oft haue I provoked him this week, by pride by, apostatizing in myne affections to other things? I find my desires to my ordinary studys one while, and to the study of points of divinity another while ready to grow to a lust. O how impossible is it to keep up my affections to god and communion with him, and to seek him with living desires and without weariness in all his ordinances! yet thou Lord art my choice; and there is no sin which I fear like to a heart that cares not for thee; wherefore my soul and all that is within me blesseth thee, for that thou hast so often made me feel the emptiness of all other things. O thou unchangeable god! make me stil seek, and let me find enough in thy self to satisfy me. Thee I must haue what ever it cost me, and therefore thy whole wil I am resolved to do, let earth and hel combine against me; teach me thy statutes, and giue me strength to obey them. I haue no confidence in my self; I feel that every day that's ready to carry my soul for ever from god: but all my sufficiency is off thee who hast promised a new heart to me. Let it be possible with thee, holy Father, to create me anew to good works. nothing is impossible with thee, pardon and subdue my iniquitys. help me once at last to obey thy commandments out of love, and accept me in what I do for the Lords sake.

sabbath Mr Oakes in his use[31] advizing to see spiritual plagues to be the greatest
5 evil in the world out of Ephesians 1. 3.

I was awakned with fear of myne estate because me thought I could not se more evil in sinning the least sin than in hel torments. ah Lord! to thee alone I fly in Jesus christ, that thou wouldst help me to se sin the

[31] Urian Oakes graduated from Harvard in 1649 and became a teaching fellow there. He went to England in 1654 and did not return until 1671, when he became pastor of the church in Cambridge. From 1675 until his death in 1681 he was also President of Harvard College. The phrase "in his use" refers to the section of the sermon known as the "use," in which the preacher drew practical applications from the doctrines which he had expounded in the earlier part of the sermon.

greatest evil as it wrongs and offends thee. I am asham'd that I haue now stood these 3 years as a shrub in thine orchard, and made so little improvement of christ, that I may questeon whither I haue him, or no.

I had also sore conflict this day in my spirit about buckling to do more for christ than I haue done by reproveing lightness and mad mirth on Sabbath Evenings and by visitings. Lord thou onely art able to make every way of thine easy, all my confidence is in thee. God further discover'd to me the vileness of my sin in want of naturall affections, and in being asham'd as it were of my poor kindred.

ah Lord I can sin against thee by pride, and cooling of affection by a common heart, and immoderate anger and swelling against others miscarriages, but I cannot mourn for sin indeed. And this want of a broken heart makes me fear and suspect my self. yet Lord I wil cleav to thee; thou hast made me thine owne by purchase, o make me like christ Jesus; and work in me all that thou requirest. for thou onely art my refuge and helper, let me obtain a heart to glorify thee before I go hence and be no more. 6 8

Want of a broken heart for sins of infirmity, to account them a body of death more bitter than death; that hath bin my exercise, and I think daly fear this week. my heart is hard and what through multitude of business and failing of bodily strength, I cannot strive mightily with the Lord for a contrite spirit. And now this last day morning, though I were abroad at charlestown lecture yesterday and there awakned with the opposition which I felt against something which I knew not whither a duty or no; although my soul was loosened from all creature comforts finding the vanity and tormenting emptines of them; yet I found this morning an indisposition to seek god in prayer to purpose, through woful slouth and unbeleef, and longing to be at some other work. Although my soul long after the Lord, yet I cannot willingly take pains in seeking him, till he be found. The vileness of my heart that's fil'd with enmity against god is unspeakable; yet 'tis possible with thee Lord to subject me to thy wil ah! remember thy promiss, though shame and confusion be my portion, yet to thee Lord belong multitudes of mercy, be thou faithful in thy covenant, for thyne own name sake. rescue me from the power of all my iniquitys, and accept me in christ Jesus.

God gaue me some comfortable perswasions of his grace begun in me from sundry markes given out of John.1. 17. 1. In that god in the day of his power came with the offers of his grace to me in particular. 2ly in that he made christ sweet and precious in some measure, not onely at my first receiving him but daly he is my heart contentment my soul satisfying good. 12

3ly In that he answerd all my objections both at first conversion and often since, at the Lords supper rather making arguments of them. 4ly In that the awful power of gods commandment to beleiv came so with autority to my heart, that I durst not but beleiv. what shall I render to the Lord for all his grace and love? Lord I do beleiv, help my unbeleif; I desire to obey all thy commandments, subdue my rebellious will that I may become thy willing subject, and strengthen me to do thee more and better service.

13./ yet I found much pride, outgoings of affection after creatures, peevishness at others unteachableness and perversness whereby I fear I dishonoured god. for these causes I am ashamed to lift up my face to heaven.

14. I am exceedingly affraid this morning, because I can feel so little evil in sins of infirmity; therefore my soul cryeth to the god of my hopes.

15/ wednesday morning upon the obstinate untowardness of some of my pupils in refusing to read Hebrew, god brings to mind and ashameth me of my own perversness herefore both to my naturall parents and Achademical: and also I see that this is the spirit and I fear if the Lord prevent not wil be the ruin of the whole country A spirit of unbridled licentiousness. Lord in mercy heal, or I know not what wil become of New England.

17 Friday I was at a private fast kept by the church. where my principal request was to be delivered from spiritual plagues. I did especially conflict with this day hardness of heart (that cannot grive for that I am grieving god by my smaller sins of infirmity) weariness of gods ordinances and desire of an end, unsettledness of heart and failing of my resolution to follow the Lord fully, a heart that is ready to halt between 2 opinions whither I should do the whole wil of god or no, and this I find stirring upon such times as these the wretched frame of my heart upon such blessed dayes makes me affraid when they come. ah Lord deliver my soul out of the mouth of those lusts that are ready to destroy me; set me at liberty for thy name sake, that I may continually glorify the and mourn for my falling short.

On the last day I was taken with inconsiderate untruth in my words which God made me ashamed of before him

18 On the sabbath I preach't at Cambridge out of 81. *Psalms.* 10.ii. I was much surprized with fear before I began; I besought the Lord earnestly for his assistance and he assisted me and strengthen'd me to the work, so that I was not at all abash't or very little when it came to. Since, I am very ill in my body and know not how I shall be able to study. O what a sinful miserable world live I in, Lord grant I may glorify thee in it, and enjoy thee.

The next sabbath I preach't at Charlestown being (through mercy) 26
prettily recovered of my former ilnes. At the Sacrament the Lord made me in some measure ashamed of the declensions and apostacys of my heart from god, unto a loos frame of self love and creature-exalting (and *carnal lusts as much*) he helpt me to close with whole christ as prophet preist and King, such a christ I desire and none other. Woe is me that there is a spirit of backsliding in me so soon after god hath been near me

I find pride, unbeleeving discouragement joyn'd with pride in refer- 27
ence to my pupils, some doubts about casting all aside of that nature one class is at least yet resolv against it by gods grace. Above all Lord keep me from a carnal heart, and from taking up my rest in the creature.

F. March. 1

On the lecture day the Lord discover'd to me more of the vileness of my whoarish departures from god and inordinate taking content in the creature and the secret weariness of my heart of that spiritual duty of meditation, when the Lord was giving me sweet communion with himself on the last sabbath day at night. My soul even trembles at the horribleness of those my iniquitys so fearfully aggravated. and I am sensible of my desert and therefore affraid that the Lord should forsake me, and leav me to my lusts, and sins and to dishonour him.

Ah! moreover I cannot seek after future settlement without carnal aimes. Lord that it might be possible with the (all things I know are possible) to pardon me the cheef of sinners, and to heal my backslidings O when shall it once be. Say amen to my groanings after thee, and strengthen me with strength in my soul that I may follow hard after thee. And let me see and enjoy, and rest satisfy'd with thee and thy love as a full portion: subdue this untowardness and unconquerable enmity of heart against thy will, that I may become one of thy willing people rejoycing to work righteousness and to endeavour that others may do so to.

On the sabbath day morning I was somewhat affraid lest my soul never 5
rested in christ, or took up satisfaction in christ alone. the Lord helpt me over these fears by reading in Mr shepard's sound Beleever,[32] in that 1: I dayly war and wrestle against a heart that is resting any where but in christ. 2ly because my wandrings make for my further establishment and closer cleaving to christ; God sendeth vexation in the creature and maketh me to seek and find more abundant sweetness in himself. so that I concluded christ was mine, and all spiritual blessings in him according to Mr Oakes

[32] Thomas Shepard, one of the most famous of the early New England divines, was minister of the church at Cambridge from 1636 until his death in 1649.

his text out of Ephesians 1.3. yet I found so much unbeleef that I could not make it real to me, and so much sensuality that I could not se the glory of this priviledge and rejoyce in it, as we were exhorted. I found also a multitude of vayn thoughts, and neglected to go and reprove some carnal mirth in the lowest Chamber til it was too late, which I pray god to pardon.

6./ Stil I find my whoarish affections forsaking the sweet fountain, setting light by him, and digging broken cisterns. Therefore the Lord goeth on to smite me, in the stubborness of my pupils after all the warnings given them; And I goe on frowardly; being quite overcome of anger when they came not to recite, almost out of patience. thus Lord I am that sinner that destroy's much good by adding sin to sin. I ly down in my shame before the, and acknowledge that the Lord is righteous; but O let not thy own work fall to ground, but turn their hearts, o Lord, who can do it as thou turnest the rivers of water.

7 I was much perplexed in mind with many thoughts to and fro, about leaving the colledge, one while ready to resolv upon it almost, and quite another way; and I know not what to do, how to liue here and keep a good conscience because my hands are bound in point of reforming disorders; my owne weakness and pupils froward negligence in the Hebrew stil much exercise me. yet for all this trouble god hath bin with me in my personal studys; for this day I began and finished all that part of my synopsis which treats about method. Blessed be god whose strength is perfected in weakness.

8 *Pride estrangement of heart from God and outgoing after the creature with some stirrings of carnal lusts this day which I am afraid of Notwithstanding cant get my heart so to loathe as I would O Lord leave me not to return with the sow to her wallowing in the mire Let me not live rather than live in my lusts*

The thursday I went to Boston and from thens to Mr Butlers[33] he being married. There I found my heart secretly departing from god hankering after the creature. but at Boston lecture and at a private meeting at Mr Butlers god did in some measure awaken and recal my straying affections

12 The sabbath I found god awakening and quickening my heart to cry to him for more sanctifying grace seing it cometh onely by christ; and the reason why I haue so little I was tould is from security, slouth and fulness of self or the creature. The sabbath evening and the next day I was much distressed in conscience, seing a stable dore of Mr Mitchels beat to and fro

[33] Probably John Butler of Boston, said to have been a physician, who later moved to Connecticut, or Henry Butler of Dorchester, who graduated from Harvard in 1651, taught for a while in Dorchester and subsequently settled in England as a nonconformist minister.

with the wind, whither, I should out of duty shut it or not; no temptations perplex me so sorely as such like, when I am not clear concerning my duty my fear is lest my wil should blind reason. this made me seriously and solemly cry to heaven for light to my mind, and grace to obey with chearfulness all gods wil. And still I cry, Lord leav me not to er from thy ways subdue the enmity of my heart in tender mercy for thy name sake: pitty my poor fainting decaying body. my strength and my heart even fayl within me by these temptations and the difficulty of my studys (which by distraction I cannot attend freely) and the continued perversness of my pupils. Lord hear me, for I haue none but thee.

I adore the wisdom of god who can let a proud and carnally secure heart blood in the right vein. By the forementioned temptation he hath made me with earnest and humble addresses to the throne of grace cry for light to my mind and grace to my heart to do his wil. ah Lord leav me not to er from thy wayes. my heart trembleth to think of any way of wickedness. Lord search me and try me (as far I know my heart I do desire it) and if there be any guil o turn me from it! when shall all thy paths be paths of pleasure to me?

On the sabbath I was stil afflicted with the like temptations which made me with my soul powred out cry to heaven. It was some support unto me amidst these temptations to read in Mr Goodwins book how christ Jesus is a high priest that knowes with bowels of compassion to pitty his poor tempted people, for himself also was tempted for that end. sabbath

Now I am ashamed before the Lord of my pride and common carnally secure frame so soon after I haue had such experience of my owne blindness and christ Jesus his compassion in giving me some respit. ah sinful heart! dost thou thus requite the Lord. Lord Jesus thy blood to cleanse me I fly to, and thy spirit to renew me. O when shall I obtain it! *Deliver me O Lord from carnal lusts These make me afraid when I feel my spirit so prone to close with them.* 22

This week I studyed natural Phylosophy with Sir Ambros Juniour.[34] I found the Lord so extraordinarily assisting me above and beyond my own folly in quickness of invention and reasoning; that in stead of admiring my god I found my self very prone to admire my self; And so like a wretch I turn grace into wantoness. ah Lord! I loath my self for this: I am even weary and groan to thee under this body of death: I haue such a clog at my foot that I cannot lift up my feet to run the wayes of thy com-

[34] Nehemiah Ambrose (called Junior because there was another, older student, Joshua Ambrose, in the same class at Harvard) graduated in 1653, went to England and became minister at Kirkby in Lancashire.

mandments. Lord forgiue, Lord for thy mercy sake subdue my iniquitys.

Next sabbath I preach't at charlestown. The Lord in some measure help't me to fight against my lusts especially that of carnal departure of heart from god after the creature; *which I found myself ensnared with by provision that the sixth day morning I had a motion of marriage made to me which was sent as a message from Mister Buckley My heart was too much taken with it. Notwithstanding at the sacrament the Lord helped me to close with Christ Jesus as prophet priest and king with some affection. On the* 2d day *again I was ready to be gone awhoring after other loves and to cool in my love to God though at a private meeting the 2d day at night the Lord awakened me and helped me to loath myself and so again on the lecture day*

29 On the lecture day the Lord set in with his word to convince and affect for that spirit of distance from god which is gaining ground of me, and I cannot prevail against it. I set my self to think off those things and to seek the Lord with my soul powred out in prayer for deliverance from this body of death; and that he would not let christ Jesus be a dry christ unto me that I should close with him in ordinances and sacraments for life, and yet find none. the Lord much affected my heart and somewhat strengthened me in prayer. Lord let it be possible with thy majesty to hear me and help for thy name sake

Friday. I stil feel my carnality of heart (that seeks after sensual contentment and cannot find satisfaction in god) prevalent. I strive against it, yet it prevails, and I am ever and anon ceasing to strive; For this caus I might wel make tears my meet, because the Lord answer's me not, but ah my heart is hard and cannot mourn after the Lord.

April 2 sabbath/ The wise god who knoweth how to tame and take down proud and wanton hearts, suffereth me to be sorely buffeted with the like temptation as formerly about seeing some dores blow to and fro with the wind in some danger to break, as I think; I cannot tel whether it were my duty to giue them some hint that owe them. When I think 'tis a common thing, and that 'tis impossible but that the owners should haue oft seen them in that case, and heard them blow to and fro, and that it is but a trivial matter, and that I haue given a hint to one that dwels in the hous, and he maketh light of it; and that it would rather be a seeming to check others mindlesness of their own affairs, and lastly that there may be special reasons for it that I know not; why the case seemeth clear that 'tis not my duty. yet I am sorely affraid I should regard iniquity in my heart, and god upon this ecclypseth the sweet beam's of his love, he hideth his face and I am troubled. I would not for all the world be a worker of any one iniquity. He hideth his face justly from a wretch that could not prize it, but am bold

to wax wanton and proud when I haue it. But Lord pitty my languishing soul and feeble spirits and frail body ready to fail under the blow of thy hand if thou rebuke.

I still find pride and whorish departure from God prevail though not in the particular of marriage as before but Lord make me watchful Lord make me spiritual by all thy dispensations. 3/

Thursday/ Ah Lord! teares of blood cannot wash away the guilt of this dayes horrible pride and spiritual whoardoms in departing from my god. Ah my god! wil neither the sight of my own pittiful blindnes, nor thy hiding of thy face for these things of late, nor all ordinances nor providences nor sacraments nor nothing do me god? But my plague sores run day and night, and I find no healing oh my father, why hidest thou thy self away and takest thy holy spirit from me? Lord I am vile, I abhor my self that bundle of folly and madness, who forsake the fountain of living waters, and follow after vanity and lies. oh how unfit am I to bear thy name and declare thy trueth to others? I can do nothing but pride and self do surprize me. ah wretch! for this caus I loath my self; Lord do not thou forsake me utterly. if christ be mine why am I thus? 7.

On the friday I began to prepare for preaching at charlestown out of Luke 5. 32. my time was short, and strength small. I was somewhat sensible of more want of a plerophory in what I writ than ordinarily I am. On the sabbath day I was ill, and ill provided in committing to memory what I had; yet the Lord gaue me much gracious assistance according to my earnest desire blessed be his name. *I found myself very apt to be ensnared by pride and self admiration and setting forth myself before others though the Lord helped me to strive against it.* 9

I find my self this day in comming home scarce able to think a good thought; but apt to rove after vanity and to trouble my self with future contrivances for which I haue oft smarted already and by which my god has been provoked, Lord I beseech the to forgiue in mercy and to heal my backslidings o let me enjoy a portion in thy sweet favour, thats my life make it more precious to me, that my self may see and savour the things I preach. 10

Wednesday morning I meditated of the vanity of the favour of men to take off my heart from seeking it or pleasing my self with it. At even my earnest sute to the Lord was to spiritualize my affections, and let me grow in that grace especially.

I preacht here at Cambridge the next sabbath. I was much at a loss about the explication of my text Acts 5. 31. what was meant by a prince and a saviour; it troubled me much on sabbath day morning to distinguish 16

aright between those two. yet god graciously helpt me over the difficulty in some good measure, and my own unpreparedness. I hope god enabled me at the sacrament to be somewhat sensible of my many spiritual plagues and to desire and close with a whole christ both as my prince and saviour. But it is a sad thing to feel a carnal heart never more prevalent then immediately after I haue come groaning to the Lord Jesus in such a solemn ordinance for redemption from it. Ah Lord! what the very next morning? wilt thou not be Pacifyd toward me but set my old whoardoms of heart in departing from thee in the light of thy countenance? shall it be impossible for me to obtain from thee spiritualized affections. to lay up my happiness in things above? Behold I ly down in my impotency and shame and unworthyness, deserving that thy spirit should take no pleasure in me. righteous art thou o Lord and faithful in thy covenant. Lord shew me what keep's thy spirit at a distance from me.

23 The next sabbath I preach't at Charlestown.

A Relation off our Voyage to New Haven and return.

25 On the tuesday I set sail toward New Haven afternoon, And arrived at the place desined the next Saturday sev'night at night, twelve dayes. In which long and tedious Navigation putting in at no port, my pacience was much exercised, especially considering that it was such a busy time with me. The Lord taught me in some measure to labour after submission to his will, and to wait his good pleasure, though I found my heart marvellous impetuous and impatient in my desires. when we pas't by Elsabeth Islands it was evening and we steer'd on our cours that night: the next morning was rainy and foggy, and we could see no land though we suspected we were near it and by sounding found it so. we thought it had bin Point Judith and were running upon the broad side of Block Island, not imagining it possible to be come so much to seaward; yet we perceived shoar and stood off, and immediately god scattered the fog so that we saw clearly it ☞ was Block-Island when as before we knew not what Land it might be. speedily the fogg fell again, so that when we came up toward Fishers Island we feared to fall foul either of that or els off Plumm Island and those other ☞ that are on the left hand more to seaward. Here again mark the Finger of God clearing our way by causing the sunn to shine forth in its strength when we were in a strait. Again when we came near Newhaven we were quite befogg'd and knew not when we were come even with it, yet again ☞ I pray'd and it pleased God to scatter the fogg and give us a clear after-

noon to get in. When we were in some danger in this voyage, it pleased god to withdraw the light of his countenance from me, so that I prayd Lord spare me that I may recover my strength before I go hence and be no more. And Loe! I am spared blessed be the name of my god; why o Lord, my petition is shew me thy salvation. The Lord hath marvelously appear'd in answering my prayers this voyage.

When I came at New Haven I found such love and respect off all hands, that I was thereby lead to overween of my own worth. In my return I stayd a Fourtnight at Harford. Where I was exercised in combating with diverse temptations and prevailing corruptions of my own. Once being to preach the next day it pleased the Lord to come in more than ordinary to melt my heart with the consideration of my own vileness, and the glorious truth which I was to speak about. Concerning the glory of the saints in heaven.

Coming through the wilderness we were overtaken with a great and dreadful tempest of rain and wind. where I beheld the mighty power of god as wel by land as by sea. For all the trees of the Forrest bowed and bended like a bow over our heads as we rid along and divers we heard fall; and about 40 I suppose we see in our way that were newly blown down. I thought how good it was to haue this great god for a mans friend, For loe! how easily he could arm all his creatures against his enemies? And at this time the Lord let in sweet peace and confidence into my heart in the hopes of his favour. For which tast of his sweetness I wil bless his name as Long as I live.

After my return home I found much adoe with a Carnall sensuall heart, that is apt to leav my rest in god, and to seek it in the creature ever and anon. soon gone from spiritual things in my desires and impatient in the pursuit of earthy contentments. Apt to be distracted about those things which are not; and to neglect and be careless in greater matters. The Lord sometimes affects my heart with some shame that I should so dishonour my Fathers hous as to feed upon and be greedy after huskes, when as he hath bread enough for me. That I should promise myself any paradise under the sun when as I have experimentally found all to be vanity and vexation of spirit. That I should mind or desire the Love of the creature, more than take contentment in the love of christ, who loveth me better than any creature can do, and who is more able to do for me what I stand in need of then any, yea then all besides. that I should break my covenant with the Lord Christ and prostitute my soul unto vanity. Ah Lord forgiue my iniquitys for thy name sake for they are very great, and yet let thy love be my

portion. When I find my heart so carnal and whoarish, why I am ready to think why the consolations of the holy-ghost which might rais my soul above these vanitys, they are too good for me to pray for. But away unbeleiving heart. The Lords ways are as far above thine, as heaven is above the earth; the grace of god superabound's where sin abounded. O Lord! be thou mine still and then I haue enough! help me to beleiv it.

July 9th

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After I was come safe home the next day I addrest my self to write to New Haven concerning the whole transaction of this business.[35] when I was doing so there comes to my hand a letter of my mothers declaring that they had propounded a business of the like nature there in my behalf, and that I was now engaged in a sute there, and therefore to see that issued before I look't any further. This report did fill my spirit suddenly with marvellous sorrow and perplexity more then I wel knew how to bear; insomuch that I fear'd least the violence of it should overthrow my bodily health. I was affraid my withdrawing should seem contempt of the party who was of great note and birth and piety, and cast shame upon my friends who had motion'd such a thing as from me (though they had given some occasion and just pretence for my withdrawing) and dishonour upon the name and gospel of my god which I profess. These straits set me upon consideration of my own ways, and mourning for my own pride and self-overweening and rashness &c. And upon meditating much off such things as might stay my heart, and it pleased god to enable me to pray to him and seek him earnestly for to set me at liberty from such thraldom as I had brought my self into through my folly. I knew he could make them to refuse the motion, or however he could bring it to a comfortable issue; I resolved to roll my burden on the Lord and to wait what he would do for me, I hoped in his redeeming mercy and even bles't him for the hopes I had in his goodness before hand. yet I writ endeavouring to undoe what was done. But my letters could not be sent that week. upon the last day comes new's that the business was issued, and the party was to go for England and not to be dispozed of here. At this news my heart was filled with joy and enlarged to bless the Lord with my soul and all that was within me. And I desire I may never forget this answer of prayer, and this mercifull taking of my soul out of trouble

[35] Apparently a decision to get married. Perhaps Wigglesworth had intended to use the preceding blank page to describe a proposal, probably to his cousin, Mary Reyner of Rowley, whom he later married. See below, p. 406.

But ah how apt am I to kick with the heel Jesurun like and lightly to esteem the rock of my salvation? how soon haue I forgotten his wonderful works? A mind distracted with a thousand vanitys sabbath dayes and week days when I should be musing off the things of god But where is my sorrow and bitter mourning for these prophanations of gods ordinances? a thing so grievous to my God. It hath bin some grief to me that I am so unprofitable a servant, that I cannot serv god in my calling aiming at his glory, and doing it as his work. I haue begged this mercy but alas! I cannot attain it, but I lose myself and my love to god amidst my multitude of occasions. My heart is hurried now this way, now that way by divers lusts; one while anxiously sollicitous, another while pleasing my self with this or that creature, this or that project, but ah! where is my walking with god, and rejoycing in the light of his countenance? And now good Lord haue mercy on me! how unfit am I to sanctify a sabbath, with such a carnal heart, such dead and dul affections, such distracting thoughts as posses and fill my mind, such a faint and feeble body? And how much more unfit to partake of a sacrament? I am affraid I shall abuse it: at least get no good by it, But the same carnal, secure, vain sensual, slouthful, proud, unbeleiving, unthankful, unfruitfull frame remain in me still. He also (even the sonns of God) is flesh; this is that which grieveth the Lord at the heart. such an one am I: oh! that I could relent and repent with hearty sorrow. And when shall it be otherwise good Lord! when shall it once be? Thy ordinances are of thyne own appointing and in them thou wilt be sought; and wilt thou not be found? Is it invain to come to sacraments and beleiv on, and feed upon christ as given by thy self? I know it is not invain: though my sins be not yet subdued, though my wounds are yet unhealed. faithful is he who hath promised and will perform it, though I be vile. I feel dayly a spirit of whoardom in the midst of me, a heart revolting from god to the other things. But yet verily Living and dying thou art my hope, o do not fail me utterly; forsake me not o my God; but uphold me by thy right hand in following hard after thee; and let me find that it is not invain to wait upon thee in ways of thy own appointment. August 5

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September 26.

upon examination before the Lord supper I find

1: A loose and common heart that loveth vanity and frothyness.

2. A prophane heart appearing in { Distracting thoughts in holy dutys / wearines of them through / slouth and carnality

3. A proud heart.

4. An unbelieving heart. which questeons Gods love, which cannot wait his time which cannot trust his providence without distracting cares and overwhelming disquietments.

5. An hard heart that cannot be so deeply affected with my sins and spiritual wants, as with my outward troubles this maketh me affraid.

6: A sensual. heart that sometimes can se no glory in heavenly things, no nor in heaven it self.

7ly An unthankful heart

8 A heart full of spiritual whoardoms revolting from the Lord to some vanity [or] other every day

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At the Lords supper god helpt me to desire, and close with whole christ as prophet priest and King. And though sathan cast objection into my mind because I was no member of this particular church, nor yet recommended hither by Cambridge church; yet I strive against them and said Lord I do beleiv help my unbeleif; and o that I might go away and sin no more against so gracious a god so sweet a saviour

29 I stil find a spirit of pride, and a spirit of whoardom which is restless in roaving after something in the creature; sometimes after this or that study, but I cannot so earnestly desire after prayer, meditation, reading the word this is a body of death and a sorrowful burden to me Lord thou knowest.

DECEMBER

4th This 2d. day at a private conference, the Lord hath in some measure shew'd me the bewty of holines and fired my heart with desires after it. making me sensible of my vast wants of love to God, of desire after communion with him, off delight in his divine perfections which he hath not for himself alone but for his people, of desire to promote his glory, of sorrow for falling short therein. / especially seing the bewty of an heavenly mind, off affections weaned from this world, in some whom god hath crossed and afflicted, who can rejoyce in their duty attending that onely, let the event be what god wil; this grace I am deeply sensibly [sic] how I want, and earnestly desire of the Lord that he would bestow it upon me too. I bless him that in some little measure he hath granted it off late, though I still want more off the same grace. Lord encreas my humility and faith.

☞ I bless the Lord from my soul for the freedom he hath given me of late from my distracting sorrows; by giving me some measure of submission to his wil, and of faith in his promiss. For I beleiv he wil guide me by his

counsel in the weighty busines that troubles me; and then let the Lord do what seemeth him good with me; onely keep me from sin. I bless his name from my soul that he affordeth me a little time and strength to serv him before I go hence and be no more. my god and his service is all that I haue to delight my self in, in this world.

Yet even now when exercised with so sore a trial and besides my ordinary bodily weaknes, with the itch and biles breaking out so as to make me lame; now I say the Lord hides away his face which is all that I haue in the land of the living. my soul oppressed under fears of my estate Lord undertake for me. my afflicting fears rise from some discours at our private meeting to this effect; that hypocrites may go far and tast off the powers of the world to come yet misframe all religion to their own carnal conceptions, desiring a moral felicity and christ to bring them thither, and faith to bring to christ and the word to bring to christ. But they never come to close with god as their last end, vizt, for a principle of life to live to god, and to desire communion with god in subordination to that as the saints do. this touch't me and afflicted me sore, and I am not yet wel resolved of my doubt. yet the good Lord remembered my low and weak estate, whereinto my body began suddenly and sensibly to fall and sent in some support. For 1: I have desired and delighted in, (not heaven or any created excellencys, but) in god himself. who is my hearts contentment.

2ly I do not desire holines for heaven but for the love I bear to god and christ and out of my desire to pleas him. And I should desire it if there were neither hel nor heaven. And I desire universal holines. And it is my very happines to do god some service before I dy; that's all I haue to comfort me against my sorrows. And that is one end why I desire communion with god that I may be made like to him. such a christ pleaseth me best as wil make me holy.

February 15.

My so long intermission of these notes I look upon as a duty neglected, and desire to be humbled for it. This I remember in generall; God hath exercised me 3 wayes since the other was written.

1: By the prevailing of sins, as Pride, which I shall go mourning for to my grave; yet the Lord helps to fight against it. A carnal mind, that is weary and nauseats spiritual conference, and savours vanity and frothines which makes me excessive in the latter, and neglect in the former. Lord redeem my soul from this plague! so also Excess in eating at a feast lately; a snare which I can hardly escape; nor know that I am beyond what is convenient for me til I feel the after inconvenience. I am ashamed and confounded that I should be so brutish. Lord forgive. February 54

A 2d exercise hath been the distracting scruples of conscience such as formerly. I bless God that hath freed me from them so long

A 3d exercise hath been my weakness. which sure is an affliction many wayes. As first because it exposeth to sin and temptations by day which are too hard for me at some times in some degree. 2ly It exposeth unto *dreams and self pollution by night which my soul abhors and mourns for*. 3ly were it nothing els, but shame, and fear lest it should be judged to arise from wantoness rather than weakness by those that know not the true caus, that were some trial. But 4ly and principally becaus It driveth me to such a strait as I think few were ever in the like. To continue in a single estate, Is both uncomfortable many wayes, and dangerous (as I conceiv) to my life, and exposeth to sin, and contrary to engagement of affections, and Friends expectations, and lyable to the harsh sensure of the world that expecteth the quite contrary: To change my condition endangers to bring me into a pining and loathsom diseas, to a wretched life and miserable death, the beginnings whereof I do already feel at sometimes, and dread more than death; and consequently I fear it would be injurious to another besides my self, whom I least desire to injure.

This hard morsel I haue had to chew upon all the winter; and except the Lord almighty had supported I had been overwhelmed and even distracted with it. For besides all that I haue felt, I had caus to fear wors: nor
February/54 onely did I fear sorrow but sin also had the danger been onely on the one hand I might haue resolved more easily, but such dangers and inextricable difficultys appear on both hands that I know not which way to turn me. And I may ad to all the rest, that none in these parts have known my affliction, so that all this winter I haue had none to pitty me, none to pray for me, none to counsel, none to comfort me. yea which is yet more than this, I haue even been affraid to pray for my self in this business, that is thus, Affraid to think of my sad condition, because when I haue given way to the thoughts of it, do what I could it was too hard for me and ready to sink me. And hence I have not dared to pray so earnestly and so much as I would for help and health, lest I should be too impetuous in my desires, as formerly I haue been the Lord pardon it.

But the Lord be magnifyd who hath upheld me by his own hand. These 2 things have mainly upheld me. 1. I knew not whither ever I should live to be put upon these straits; why then should I disquiet my self. 2ly If I should, I did beleiv (and stil do), that the Lord wil guid me in his way, and then let me do my duty and let the Lord do with me what seemeth good to him

Now the spring approaching, I addrest my self to write for advice to

Mr Winthrop, Mr Alcock Mr Rogers.[36] In writing the Lord helpt me to do it with plainess and simplicity, declaring the difficultys truly on both sides; and he helpt me to do it without disquieting trouble. I also writ to my cousen[37] dealing plainly with her in the business, what danger I apprehended, wishing her to be advised and to take counsel, that she may know whom she matches with and have no caus to repent her. Blessed be the Lord that hath helpt me thus far. Now my daly and earnest supplication shal be, that God would counsel my counsellers and me by them, that I may attend his will in this great business that is too difficult for me

February/54

The Last sabbath and this the Lord hath given me a great measure of assistance in publick beyond my own fears and misgivings of heart: enabling me to declare his trueth plainly, without bawlking any thing that he hath discovered unto me to be a sin of these times and places. I haue gone thorow all the commandments in the discovery of guilt from Romans 3d. 9. Where it hath been my endeavour to meet with the sins of the times, as much as I could, in so short a work. It is my hearty desire to make known the whole counsel of God, and to run thorow the very main things in divinity in a little time: becaus it is somewhat likely that I haue not long to preach. I would do as much for god as I can in a little time. Ah Lord! that I may obtain the assurance of thy love before I go hence and be seen no more; that my soul longs after, and after a real discovery of the glory of heaven that I may be fit and willing to dy. I find pride very prevalent this day: But the Lord helps me to fight against it; and I trust I shall at last overcome it: Good father forgive it, subdue it. 18

Munday. I toyl'd hard and issued little upon the text Deuteronomy 10. 12. 19

Tuesday. The Lord assisted me very much. so that when I preach't the lecture on wednesday pride was ready to surprize me. 20 21

I was much carryd away with too much frothines and love to vanity on thursday and friday having cheerful company in the hous with me. *I found myself much overborn with carnal concupiscence nature being suppressed for I had not had my afflux in 12 nights Friday night it came again without any dream that I know of. Yet after it I am still inclined to lust The Lord help me against* 22

[36] John Winthrop, Jr., son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, and himself one of the leading figures in Connecticut, was a man of wide interests, whose advice on a variety of subjects was much sought after. John Alcock, a nephew of Thomas Hooker, graduated from Harvard in 1646 and practiced medicine, first at Roxbury and later at Boston. John Rogers graduated from Harvard in 1649 and preached at Ipswich for a time but devoted a large proportion of his time to the practice of medicine. He was president of Harvard College from 1683 to 1684, the year of his death.

[37] Mary Reyner of Rowley, whom he later married.

it and against discouragement by it and against temptations of another nature and disquietments.

24 I hear off and see such troubles arising here; that my thoughts have been too hard for me this day about what I shall do. Lord pardon my unseasonable and needless forethoughts, and fit me to attend thy good
February 54/ March pleasure./ Hide not thy face from me, neither lead me into temptation good Lord.

March I have been much troubled with the spleen these divers days And all I can do wil not get it remov'd. This hath exposed me to temptations of 3 sorts. 1 To too much frothyness and unsavoury discours, finding a necessity of some mirth; readines to be too much addicted thereto. so that I find no power to attend or love serious and savoury discours. 2ly To weariness of religious dutys, and negligent performance of them at some times. 3ly To Carnal lusts, by reason of the abundance of flatulent vapours that annoy me And this maketh my very life a burden. so that I comfort my self with these hopes, either the Lord wil in pitty and compassion provide for me so that I may live and not sin; or els he will shortly put an end to this wretched life. And this I pray for. 4ly. To Melancholy scrupulosity, and a multitude of distractions that way. Lord thou seest how I am oppressed, father undertake for me. It is the greif of my heart that I can serv the no better. Oh! teach me, and enable me to do thy wil. oh! Lift up the light of thy countenance for the Lords sake. Pardon my sins, heal my backslidings mortify corruption, and heal in mercy my bodily infirmitys which both expose inevitably to sin, and make me with difficulty attend my calling as thou Lord knowest. yet it is thy mercy that I have a little time, and a little strength to serv thee, so good a master. oh that I could do more! woe is me! I can do but little (of the little I do) for thee, as my heart desireth.

I begin to think marriage wil be necessary for me (as an ordinance of god appointed to maintain purity which my heart loveth) what ever the event may be. Let me live no longer than I may live honestly good Lord.

7th I am ready to be desiring and hoping for a paradise in this world, Lord pardon it. I earnestly desire Assurance of Gods Love, A heart to do all I do from him and for him, weaned affections from the world and willingness to dy. yesterday morning the Lord gaue a sweet meditation concerning him.

March 54 Being in some expectation of my mothers coming to Harford on saturday: My thoughts and heart were too much running that way a great part of the day. yet in the evening the Lord let in somewhat of himself into my heart, and let me tast an emptines in the creature yet some satisfaction in

himself. When I had done expecting her she came late in the evening.

My morning desires were on the sabbath that I might do nothing for my self to set forth my self, but all for god, and that I might mind god and not man in all the dutys thereoff. the Lord pardon my falling short.

I find pride, and sensual outgoing of heart one while, and discouragement another while apt to prevail over me. and fleshly lusts too are sometimes too strong for me. O wretched man that I am! which way so ever I turn me. unfit to live becaus sinful at present and overborn, overpowered by corruptions so many. unfit to dy because sensual and not savouring the things of another world: because myne iniquitys separate between me and my god and hide his face from me. sorrows I meet with and temptations, and more I deserve than I feel, and therefore wel may I fear more. oh I haue a carnal secure, proud, prophane, unbeleiving heart! that I wil complain off heavenly father, and not off thee. Thou art good, I am evil, thou art faithful I am unfaithful in the covenant. oh I am ashamed that I dishonour my fathers hous so by feeding upon husks. that I wrong and griev my head and husband so by not loving and delighting in his presence; by my liking other loves more than him ah Lord! I pul down evils upon others as wel as my self. Sicknesses, death of godly ones, wants, divisions have not my sins a hand in these miserys? oh Lord I am affraid of thy judgements upon my self and others. But spare thy people. I do beseech thee whatever become of me. 12 13

On the last day in the Evening foregoing, a letter came to me from Mr Alcock, wherein he answered my scruples. whereby I perceived that God had heard me in carrying my letters safely so far, and sending them from thence as they were directed toward Rowley. I bless god for one answer. I am in continuall expectation of another. March 54 55

I found much weakness yet much gracious assistance and enlargement on the fast day. Lord let me find Acceptance and receiv answers of peace, both to my own wants, and the wants of others. 14

On that Last day I was much troubled with a multitude of thoughts about a journey to New Haven and Pequit. I strive and prayd against such diverting and disturbing distractions, yet they were too hard for me amidst my more serious studys. Lord pardon my wandrings, and pitty my weakness for thy mercy sake 17

Sabbath day morning / It grieveth me for my whoarish departures of heart from the Lord. that I do not live upon him, to him, and walk with him in the world. And now methinks these sabbaths are blessed seasons wherein poor wandring harlots, may return to their husband again. oh the boundles and unexhausted fountain of mercy that is with god and 18

christ to entertain such again as I am! why behold! I come unto the thou art the Lord my God. My soul desireth communion with god, and Grace from him this day to enable me to serv him in sincerity so long as I live, (and not my self) and to fit me for everlasting fellowship with him in another world The Lord maketh me more than ordinary earnest in prayer that he would bless my ministry to the souls of his people this day. oh Lord! Rebuke pride, and selfishness that they marr not all I doe./ Though vain thoughts and pride and carnal lusts are rife and prevalent in me, and what I would do Lord I cannot, yet I bless thee that I haue time and heart to mourn for what I do amiss.

24 In the evening after the sabbath came news to me of Mr Winthrop's coming to New-Haven. On the 2d day God prosper'd my endeavours so, that I got 2 good horses at wethersfield and J. Latimore[38] to carry back my mother, which was performed with much eas to her upon the 3d day. I found Mr Winthrop staying longer there than some expected, not without thoughts of my coming thither which he had heard off by Goodman Warner.[39] I had much adoe to speak with him, yet at last I obtain'd it the night I came thither. I left the letter foreintended to be sent unto Pequit with him to consider off seriously, which he did, and gave his answer as far as he could in so short a time the next day at noon; which answer see in my book of Epistles after the coppy of the said letter. Now the Lord's name be magnify'd who hath prosper'd my way, and affoarded me his best advice with far less trouble than I was aware of. Blessed be the Lord that causeth my counsellers to agree in their counsel that I may see more clearly what is his mind in that weighty busines. Especially I bless him from my heart that he giveth me any hopes of comfort in the prosecution of that intendment which hath been so exercizing in the beginnings thereof. that I have heard of the lives of my friends at Rowley, (though no letter which I marvel at) the Lord be blessed also.

These are principles which the Lord hath been teaching me by his afflicting dispensations this Winter

1. To rejoyce in acting according to a Rule, whatever the event be, good or evil. mind my work which is all duty; and let god alone with events, which is his work

[38] John Latimer figures largely in the early records of Weathersfield. At the time of his death in 1662 he was one of its wealthiest inhabitants, possessor of two slaves.

[39] The records give no indication of any Warner in Weathersfield at this time, but this may have been Andrew Warner of Hartford, one of the first settlers there, who later participated in the founding of Hadley.

2: Not to rejoyce much in any creature; thou knowst not whither it shall comfort or Torment thee.

3: Not to be troubled with evil before it come, sufficient is the trouble of the day, when it is come

4: To be humbly thankful for life, and health, and liberty to serv god hitherto; though I should enjoy them no longer.

5: To fight against Melancholy and unbeleiving thoughts not by debating with them (for so they are too hard for me) but by sleighting them and not attending to them.

April

Much pride, A common heart (sitting loos from god, not savouring the service of god) carnal lusts stirring and prevalent, are the Plagues that discover themselves this week. I loath and abhor judge and condemn my self for these. I fear and tremble lest the Lord should depart away from me, as I deserv and then woe to me! when the Lord departs away, besides whom miserable comforters are all my comforts. But who is a god like thee? that pardons iniquity and passeth by &c oh Pardon all the multitudinous evils thou seest in me in the multitude of thy mercys. Pardon my inordinate affections to this world or any thing therein. Pardon my unbeleif and unnecessary disquieting cares. Pardon my distemper'd passions. Pardon my want of due watchfulnes and care against these or any other evils for thy sons sake. Amen. I receiv'd letters from Rowley this week wherein I perceiv that my friends there be wel, and the heart of my cousen (after myne received) is toward me as before. Blessed be the good name of my god who hath so far heard prayer, as to carry my letters safe thither, to giue them so good acceptance, to return me an answer, whereby I perceiv it is my way to go down speedily into the Bay. And what further to attend for the present I see not, but I hope the Lord wil direct when I come there. The Lord in mercy make me desirous as formerly to attend onely my duty and leav the rest to him. Lord increas my faith, and patience. / Annus 1655 March 31

I got Mr Newton[40] to pray with me on thursday night after a relation of the present difficultys which surround me wherewith he was much affected. Lord hear in heaven and give answers of peace.

At the lecture out of Job. 14. 2. Many cordials being propounded to strengthen the hearts of gods people Against bodily infirmitys and death it self: Me thoughts I felt an unspeakable unwortynes of any intrest in god April/ 4.

[40] Roger Newton was minister at Farmington, Connecticut.

and his grace at such times of need, because of the unspeakable vilenes of my heart which I feel, o that I could feel it more. Ah pride! frothines I haue not matter for good discours, nor a heart unto it. it grieveth me to think of my folly and madnes. ah! I do serv my self and not my god in all I doe.

APRIL FROM THE 8 TO

On the sabbath day morning, (having prepared to preach the 2 dayes before and fully intending it) I awaked with a very sore throat, so that I perceived my mouth was stop't for that day. Mr stow[41] being in the town by a providence supply'd the place. It was a sacrament day and I ventured out (hooded) before noon, but afternoon *again* durst not. I kept hous all that week, being much pained in swallowing my spittle, and so overflowed with rhewm that If I forbare spitting my throat grew painful with drines. This ilnes marrd my stomack utterly, (especially by the nauseous tast of the fleum at the beginning and latter end thereoff) mightily enfeebled my spirits, wasted my moysture and made me feaverish. I used principally burnt wine, which almost set me in a swoon divers times, yet I think did me good. At the latter end of the week growing something better I ventured out to wethersfield hooded. whence I had a hors brought me
April 17 according to agreement on munday and on Tuesday I set forth for the Bay. The motives that hasten'd me were these. 1. I found my ilnes continue and no means there to help me. 2ly I conceived journeying might do me good as much as physick, if I could keep from could. 3. To redeem the spring time for marrying or taking physick, or both. God brought me thorow comfortably in 2 dayes from springfield to Roxbury, much bettered (though wearied) with my journey. staying a day in the Bay and consulting with Mr Alcock (who advized to proceed with the busines of marriage In the 1st place) I reach't Rowley on the saturday. / On munday ensueing I dined and discoursed with Mr Rogers about the great busines. He could by noe means concur with the other physicians in advizing first to marriage and afterward to taking physick, for many reasons by him alledged; but thought it meet 1. to rectify the habit of my body and afterward to proceed. I was distressed at the hearing of his opinion, because it stil made the case more difficult. I prayd to the god of heaven and such was his mercy to me, that after a little reasoning about the case, and fuller declaration of my ilness &c. Mr Rogers his mind was quite altered, and he declared himself free and ready to further the consum-

[41] Samuel Stow, of Middletown, Connecticut, graduated from Harvard in 1645, served as minister for a time at Middletown and later at Simsbury but was never permanently settled at any church.

mation thereof with all possible speed. And so he contrived the busines and wrought it with them whom it concerned, that it was then publish't, and I was to return again and be contracted the next friday sev'night. and so I left my friends with determination so to return. Yet after I was gone from thence. My own weakness (which formerly perplexed me at such times) setting in with Mr Rogers his scruples did much trouble me, and caus me to questeon, whither it were my way to marry, before the use of more means, and to run such a hazzard as that of my life and health without an apparent necessity, before I had tryed the utmost that physick could doe. I repaired to Mr Alcock with all speed again to speak with him and object unto him for my farther satisfaction.

1: He told me that he hoped my diseas might be cured by physick; but It would be a long and teadious and far more difficult cure, then he hoped it would be by marriage, and astringent cordials afterward. And he had no heart to go the farther way about when as he might haue a nearer way by providence offer'd him.

2: He told me divers experiences of the success of this cours in like distempers. An example of one just affected like my self before his marriage, who was grievously perplexed with it, yet went on with it and did very wel after, and hath divers children living at this day. And so of divers others who have taken this cours with good success.

3: He told me that mine was not vera Gon:[42] as he could prove nor the excretio *(which happened by the presence of such a friend)* seminis but quasi sudor partium genitatium: as a little alumn wil caus the mouth to fil with water, so a little acrimony gathering there, causeth humours to flow thither amain, which might come away in great quantity, and yet there be plenty of veri seminis behind. And so I found it to be.

4ly. He told me that which made me so fearful, made him fearles, and gave him the more hopes, that marriage would take away the caus of that distemper, which was naturalis impulsus seu instinctus irresistibilis.

These things together with the consideration. 1. of my unsettled condition wherein I cannot attend rules of Physick with any conveniency. 2ly off the great charge and expences I must be at for a continued cours of Physick and diet better than ordinary. 3ly of my inability with comfort and

[42] The word intended here is obviously gonorrhea, but I have thought it best not to expand the abbreviation, because former accounts of Wigglesworth's life have professed to be mystified with regard to the disease of which Wigglesworth so frequently complains. It seems indisputable from the symptoms described and from this direct statement that Wigglesworth thought that he had gonorrhea. Whether his disease was actually gonorrhea, of course, no one can say.

honesty to live long as I am single. 4ly off the little hopes to prevayl against rebellious nature, which is disquieted rather than overcome by physick in statu presenti. These things make it pretty clear to me that god calleth to a speedy change of my condition, which I therefore desire to attend as a duty that god calleth unto, leaving my life and health in his hands. And oh! that I had a meek spirit to submit to his good pleasure. A beleiving heart! and a judicious mind to see clearly that this is my way at all times

I went up at the time appointed and was contracted on friday (May) God made this journey more comfortable to me, refreshing me and cheering me among my dearest friends. yet with the admixture of the same affliction as formerly, though something moderated blessed be God! I was troubled to think that they were not willing to have the wedding before the election, and so to drive a month at least it may be two months because the magistrates would all be absent at that time. yet here again providence appeared sweetly in bowing their spirits to issue it within a fourtnight, and so before the Election; And all things we found conspiring to further our intendment, Taylors ready to do the work in time, merchants ready to take provisions for shopp commoditys, &c. blessed be god! who
may 18. worketh all our works in us and for us. oh! I am ashamed of my frothines and vanity and fruitless conversation, and sensuality and all those sins whereby I am offending so good a god. saturday./ May

I was somewhat perplexed also at my return into the bay after my contraction, concerning the lawfulness of marrying with a Kinswoman, because the mothers sister is forbidden; now sister in scripture language is put for a Kinswoman sometimes. I spent some time about it and the Lord gaue me comfortable satisfaction in this point also, that my scruple was Invalid.

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which was on friday may 18. At the time appointed with fear and trembling I came to Rowley to be marryed. The great arguments unto me were, 1: Physicians counsel: 2ly the institution of marryage by god himself for the preservation of purity and chastity, which with most humble and hearty prayers I have begged and stil wil beg of the Lord. so that I went about the business which god call'd me to attend And consummated it now is by the will of god May 18. 1655./ oh Lord! let my cry come up unto thee for all the blessings of a marryed estate, A heart sutable thereto, chastity especially thereby, and life and health if it be thy will. oh crown thy own ordinance with thy blessing, that it may appear it is not in vain to wait upon thee in the wayes of thy own appointment *I feel the stirrings and strongly of my former distemper even after the use of marriage the next day which makes me exceeding*

afraid. I know not how to keep company with my dearest friend but it is with me as formerly in some days already. oh pitty the poorest and vilest of thy creatures for the Lords sake, And let not thy servants be a curs each to other but a blessing in this new relation

I have been 3 times at the Bay since my wedding. the first time I met my father in Law from England the very next week after the marriage. blessed be god! The 2d time I got a sore cold by preaching at Mauldon. The 3d time I got a surfet, fell into a loosnes yet (through mercy) made a shift to get well home, where I was much weakned. My strength is wel recover'd again now I thank god this present. 10 of July. But these ilnesses, colds rhewms and keeping the hous so much have made me so tender that I cannot preach but catch a grievous cold. yea these continued colds disable me to any service either in family or in publick. And through a light and frothy heart I cannot honour god with the little remaynder of strength which I have this (God knowes) is my daly grief, that I can do so little for god. that I am unfaithful in the talent I haue and so unworthy to be trusted with more strength.

This disabling me from service is some matter of exercise to my faith and patience. Hereby The Lord hath made me more to think off my unworthyness to be honourd with the service of god. And more to prize and long after ability to serv god. And more thankful that he hath put me upon publick service now so oft these 8 sermons since I came from Harford. my soul blesseth the Lord when he giveth me any opportunity and ability to serv him in that way. And this is some quieting to me that the Lord hath dealt better than my fears with me already; in that I have been confined so long to home, and yet so little molested with my ordinary distemper. oh Let god be magnify'd! Besides I consider affliction is gods furnace, it shall purge away filth; so that I shall be fitter either to live better, or dy happier, having a weightier crown of glory. oh Lord! increas my faith and patience

About the 17th of July I went to the Bay carrying my wife with me. where much of god appear'd both in our comfortable going and return, (though I much fear'd the prevailing of rhewm to my great affliction, yet the Lord prevented it) and also much of god in expediting my occasions; which were with the Physician, about a parcel of corn disposing of (which providence had taken good order for in my absence) and about Maldon Invitation; Blessed be god for all his benefits. But oh my ill requitalls of the Lords love! Much frothyness pride, *carnal lusts also exceeding* prevailing *Lord forgive my intemperance in the use of marriage for thy sons sake.*

I am infinitely indebted unto the Lord that gives me so much comfort July 28

in a married estate contrary to my fears; for this I wil prais him whilest I haue a being

August I am now about the use of means against my rhewm which I find very prevalent still. therefore the Lord shew's me what need to beg his blessing without which means avayl not; therefore I desire others to beg it for me, to the end I might be set at liberty to serv god and his people.

My earnest prayer this sabbath is that I may be fitted (by spiritual blessings receiv'd from god in the way of his ordinances) for life or death, both which I find my self very unfit for. for I fear death, and I haue done (woe is me!) little for god; and yet to live without more grace ah! to how little purpose is?

I have been this morning studying for what caus the Lord may contend with me in this my weakness, which stil troubles me much, Rhewm I mean. yet cannot conclude what it is; I am guilty of many evils and much unprofit. Nonimprovement of the talent I haue at present makes me unworthy of more strength; and so much selfishness in all I do, might justly provoke the Lord to disable me from doing any thing. but the Lord is my witness these things are my burden. Lord do not plague me for that which above all things I desire and pray to be rid off! And now with god and for god I do begin to study this day, whose glory and Kingdom I desire by all means to promote, the good Lord enable me to honour him, for that I account my greatest happiness in this world.

4.5. I went into the Bay August the 4th and preacht at Maldon twice on the sabbath. Before my preching there (and so before my preaching at Rowley the next sabbath) I had such serious meditations as these: The voyce of the Lords rod unto me at the present is this; Know thou that thou art utterly unworthy to serv me. whereto my heart answereth: True Lord I own my vilenes, my pride, my sensuality my frothynes, my filthynes &c. these make me unworthy to make mention of the Lords name. It is thy undeserved free mercy (for which I thank thee) that thou hast given me opportunity and strength to serv the so long, and that I may stil do it once more. And for the future, if the Lord say he hath no pleasure in me, Loe! here am I, desiring to lay my mouth in the dust in humble submission to him: the Lord is righteous if he deal thus with me; yea he is merciful and gracious that he hath dealt so no sooner. Lord why do I survive, when those that were so much better are taken away? some off them in their beginnings; as Mr Theophilus Eaton[43] of New Haven lately chosen a

[43] Theophilus Eaton, one of the original patentees of the Massachusetts Bay Company, was the founder with John Davenport of the New Haven Colony. He was governor of the colony, re-elected annually, until his death.

magistrate, with his godly wife, both deceased within a few dayes time.

when I was at Maldon; I told them that I thought it would be a tempting of Providence to accept of their Invitation, for

1. I found preaching very hazzardful at present in that it exposed to such dangerous coulds

2. It was feared that my strength would never sute with double work[44] After the debating this matter too and fro they left me to consider more of it a while. Here, upon further consideration; I could not satisfy my self in the force of my former argument: becaus the harm I found by preaching was principally (if not onely) in the time of the general visitation by colds; since, all that I haue found hath been onely some little return of a sore throat, that hath soon gone away again. yea I found no great harm by August my sabbath dayes work at Maldon, though the wether were very cold and wet. And for the 2d Argument. double work in so small a congregation is not much more then single work in a great one; and if it be more, yet there are other things to ballance it. these things considered made me promis to deliberate more about it for another fourt'-night; I asked Mr Alcocks advice, who told me he thought neither of these plea's of such weight as to ground a refusal of this Invitation upon them. He thought I might hope to be better in a settled way; and hoped wel It would be better with me hereafter; And to help the double work, I might preach the less while. off the same mind was my Uncle Reyner.[45]

When I preach't at Rowley August the 12. I found my self very faint 15 and feeble all the forenoon and just until I began, yet through mercy assisted with more then ordinary strength in the work (when I am weak then am I strong) And I find (through Gods mercy) no great harm afterwards onely weaknes by much sweat. Mr Philips[46] in the forenoon preacht upon this point: The people of God take notice of mercy in the sorest afflictions. I assent to this trueth. I can (I thank God) take notice of much mercy though sore afflicted. 1. Its mercy I had so long a time of peace. 2ly Moderation of the affliction. 3ly support from god under affliction. 4. sanctify'd use of affliction, my heart train'd up under it to humility, faith patience, and heavenly affections. 5. seasonable redemption from afflictions at my earnest prayers. the Lord be magnifyd.

I have been meditating what caus I have to be thankful, and to shew it in August 1655

[44] Large congregations usually had two ministers, one called pastor and the other teacher. When one man served both functions, he did "double work."

[45] Probably the Reverend John Reyner.

[46] Samuel Phillips, son of the Reverend George Phillips of Watertown, graduated from Harvard in 1650 and in 1651 joined Ezekiel Rogers as minister of Rowley.

a fruitful conversation to the glory of god. my soul desireth to be so; Lord help me herein. And as I follow'd God by fayth in the matter of marriage beyond sence, and have found a blessing: so I desire to do in this Invitation to Mauldon, if the Lord appear therein, and to beleiv (yea I do beleiv) that if he call he will enable thereto.

August 15 16. oh my god! it grieveth me to think of my vain and fruitless conversation, that I can do so little for thee, so much against thee. It grieveth me that in the fiery furnace my dross should stil remain; my pride, frothines, sensuality, filthines. Ah Lord deliver me from these this day, and evermore. oh giue me more grace and strength to serv thee though I deserv it not. for thou seest how my spiritual plagues, and bodily weaknesses, prevail over me.

At my next being in the Bay I found less incouragement to yield unto Maldons invitation than before. For having taken it into consideration a fourt'night longer and finding my self rather wors, it seemed a barr put in by providence to stop further proceedings. so according to advice of friends I wholy putt by the motion upon the onely ground of present unfitness for any constant service. the wil of the Lord be done; how cross soever unto mine. Since I beg earnestly his blessing upon the cours of physick I am about, knowing that if he say the word they shal do me good, not els. To this end I haue beggd the prayers of divers this being a season of fayth and prayer. I find some assaults of temptation to distrust in respect of outward sustenance in case of disability to service. but by the grace of god I do in some measure trust in his fatherly providence who wil not leav me nor forsake me: who wil giue grace and glory &c.

August September

September 2d I receiv'd the Lords supper here on the sabbath. Before and att which the Lord came in sweetly to discover and affect my heart with sin, making me sensible of my need of whole christ; prophet priest and King, making all of christ precious and desirable; and so perswading me of the gift of his son to be bread of life to me. My longing desire is to walk worthy of him, to be fruitful in my conversation, and I mourn for my falling short hereoff.

10 The next sabbath I preach here with more than ordinary assistance

It is a time of more than ordinary trouble because I am yet unsettled winter approaching, and know not what to doe about it becaus my weaknes and colds stil continue and I fear in cold wether it should be wors with me. the matter of my trouble are such things as these.

1 My present weaknes unfitting me for almost any service or, making it very difficult

Be thankful that thy weaknes is not sicknes.

Heretofore thou hast sought others good neglecting thy own;

but now thou art hindred from doing that thou might take time to be getting and growing.

2ly Fear of increas of weaknes as the cold increaseth because it is an extraordinary propensity to take cold at my nosthrils.

3ly Difficulty in concluding about my winter aboad: If I undertake any publick work I fear lest I should fail their expectations. If I sit stil winter wil come on and I must do nothing, which is very cross to my desires of being serviceable to God.

I will lead the blind in a way they have not known.

Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I wil hear thee and thou shalt glorify me.

Faithful is he that hath promised and wil do it

He hath done it heretofore.

4ly My mother and sister are come to me from New Haven, and I haue no hous to put my own head in much less room for them. which is discourageing unto them whom I have brought from a settled to an unsettled estate.

Christ himself my Lord had not a hole to put his head in.

5ly. If we all liue in an unsettled way, it wil soon spend all we haue and bring us to penury, yet so it must be if I be disabled from service

Blessed be God that we haue friends willing to entertain us thus long.

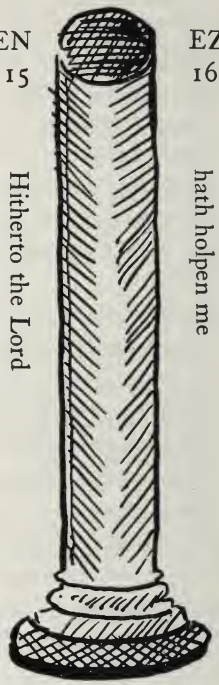
Be thankful for what is already layd in against a time of need. For the future, my heavenly father wil provide, by means (perhaps) that we know not.

6ly Where we are, if he [torn] should continue it wil be uncomfortable to winter for cold *and especially to me seeing we can't lay severally without obloquy and reproach neither can we lay together without exposing me to the return of grievous disease.*

God will guide and provide.

He hath done so in troubles as great as these and therefore he can do it and will do it

In Memoriall of his former mercys received in answer to prayer and off all his goodnes hitherto I wil erect



A pillar to the prayse of
his grace

O Dulcis memoria
difficultatis praeteritae!

Olim haec (quae nunc incumbunt
mala, haec inquam)
Meminisse juvabit.

Quae mala nunc affligunt, postea in
Laudem dei, nostramque voluptatem cedent

Quis triumphum caneret, quis spoliis onustus
rederet victor, si numquam dimicaret?

sabbath. september 16. some *night pollution escaped me notwithstanding my earnest prayer to the contrary which brought to mind my old sins now too much forgotten (as near as I remember the thoughts that then I had) together with my later sins unto seeming one that had received so many mercies from the Lord O unthankfulness unthankfulness when shall I get rid of thee.*

The same week I went to the Bay; About my mothers goods left at Boston, which disposed off the best I could. About further directions from the physician; About Maldon busines with some further inclinations to it upon the grounds above specify'd where I found them that I spake withall still earnest in their desires after me and that they needed not that I should be-

ginn it afresh. I defer'd any conclusion till Mr Hill[47] come up to Ipswich to the generall training. the good Lord guid me in a right way. amen.

I haue been musing about this point, that God is. besides what arguments I read in others these are presented to me. 1. If there were no god mens hearts would not be full of enmity against god as they are. ergo there is a God. 2. Once I was blind, but now I see, once dead but now alive, once loving sin and hating holines; who made this change? Not self; for to me beleiving was impossible. Not men, for then why are not others converted that are less hardened in sin, or why was not I converted sooner (whilest it was easier) nor Sathan; he is not such a fool to destroy his own kingdom; therefore it was God, ergo God is. 3ly My prayers have been answer'd from time to time, ergo there Is a God who hath heard me. If there were no God, how should my prayers haue been heard. whoever doubts of his being let me never doubt it who haue seen him and felt him not onely heard off him.

October 7th.

After many and earnest prayers unto God For guidance in the weighty busines of settlement, I haue determined to go to Maldon about a 14:n. hence. I issued the busines with the messengers sent from Maldon church upon the generall training day being October 4th. I hope the Lord is in this determination My grounds are such as these. 1: God requireth and I desire to do service as my strength wil bear; and I feel not such want of strength but that I can preach without prejudice to my body; Although I fear it, that my weaknes should encreas with the winter, yet the physician hopes the contrary, and I haue followed god by faith against greater feares and prospered therein heretofore. To what end was the former mercy but to train me to it for the future. 2ly The place is stil without supply notwithstanding their endeavours to get a supply. 3ly They continue earnest in their desires. renewing their former sute. If they be willing to adventure upon my weaknes, why should not I adventure upon the work. 4ly I found some beginnings of amendment by the abatement of rhewm and hopes of good. by the use of oil against my aptness to get cold. God had in part removed the onely impediment; and why should I stand out any longer. 5ly we cannot winter here. Because the hous is too cold, becaus the room too strait (here is not a private room for me) because also *we must lay together constantly which I can't bare.* And to remove, as good to Maldon for

October 55

[47] Joseph Hills was the first representative of the town of Malden in the General Court of Massachusetts and later was speaker of the House of Deputies. He created a scandal in the colony by following the earlier example of Governor Bellingham in presiding at his own wedding (see below, p. 418). He had also been one of the supporters of Marmaduke Mathews, the previous minister of Malden, who had been chosen without approval of the General Court and who was consequently ousted.

ought I know as any where; And in respect of charges I hope better: thus divine providence seemeth not onely to invite but to necessitate hereunto./ And what the Lord calleth unto he will fit for Lord increas my faith.

October — Myne inordinate affection unto creatures and too must [*sic*] trusting to the bountiful provision that god hath made for us, is a grief to my heart because a dishonour and grief to the Lord

7 — I find my corruptions very strong. As pride Inordinate affection to creatures, frothines, empty and fruitles conversation, undutifulnes to my mother, deadheartednes and wandrings in gods worship; these are my great burden, which I come to the Lord to rid me off upon this day of spiritual blessings. I desire The sincere milk of the word that I may grow thereby in grace.

10. — (wednesday) [three words in shorthand undecipherable] aggredior opus hodiernum, desiring much to do all that I do for god. ah Lord giue me more grace to honour thee in thought word and deed; it is my grief I do it so little.

12 — Friday. Cum Deo To whose glory be this written. When I feel my own present weakness to be such, I am apt to be affraid lest I should be unserviceable at Maldon by the coldness of winter, and live upon expences October unprofitably. Yet I desire not to giue way to discouragement; For 1: I am in Gods way to remove thither and cast myself upon Gods providence to see what he will do for me and by me. Not onely gods voyce in them (whose desire is so constant and necessity so great) call's me to it, but he hath all along inclined my spirit unto it, and now his providence driveth me to it as it were perforce, and hath incouraged to it by beginnings of amendment (although it sticketh in the birth). Now all that I haue to mind is duty vizt to obey Gods voyce let the event be what he will. 2ly He is able to prevent my feares and strengthen me above my hopes; as my former experience can witness. 3ly He hath promised to be with me in his way and to order all occurrences for glory to himself; good to me and to his people. And what would I more. Lord strengthen my fayth to beleev and follow thee in this busines; and to wayt thy good pleasure; yea to submit to thy will, that If thou say I haue no pleasure in the my heart may say Let the Lord do with me what seemeth him good. If it be thy will Lord send health and strength that I may glorify thy name and do good to thy poor people. If not oh Lord teach me to ly at thy foot. So haue I prayd this day, and so will I pray, till the Lord look down from heaven.

october 55 sabbath 14 — oh 'tis good for me to draw near to god! The Lord hath met with me this day according to my wish. he hath spoken to my heart, he hath melted it into teares by his truth. I haue heard even such things as I would this day,

how all the saints are such as haue purify'd themselues, and ought to do it more and more. Why purity is that I want Lord, which I mourn after, 'tis that I would. oh giue me what thou requirest, and then require what thou wilt. Giue more earnest and constant desires and effectuall endeavours after it. I am affraid lest I desire health more then holyness (though I desire that also that I might haue opportunity for further exercise of holines) but what good wil my life or health do me good Lord If I liue not to thy prais and honour? oh pitty me, and grant encreas of both if it be thy will. And make this truth a means of it and this day a beginning of it.

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october 55

February 20 toward night being wednesday my wife began to travail, and had sore paines The nearnes of my bed to hers made me hear all the nois. her pangs pained my heart, broke my sleep the most off that night, I lay sighing, sweating, praying, almost fainting through wearines before morning. The next day. the spleen much enfeebled me, and setting in with grief took away my strength, my heart was smitten within me, and as sleep departed from myne eyes so my stomack abhorred meat. I was brought very low and knew not how to pass away another night; For so long as my love lay crying I lay sweating, and groaning. I was now apt to be hasty and impatient, but the Lord made me desirous to stoop to his wil (if he should take away her whom he had given, much more) if he should onely prolong her pains (himself supporting) and in time restore her. Being brought to this the Lord gaue some support to my heart After about midnight he sent me the glad tidings of a daughter that and the mother both living; after she had been in paines about 30 houres or more. oh Let the Lord be magnifyd who heareth the poor chatterings of his prisoners; who wil lay no more than he enableth to bear. 2 Lessons the Lord hath taught me by this. 1 If the evil of sorrow be so great how evil then in [is?] sin the caus off it

2: If the dolours of child-bearing be so bitter (which may be onely a fatherly chastizement) then how dreadful are the pangs of eternal death

After our child was about a Fourtnight old it was much afflicted with a sore mouth, which continued near 3 weeks, accompanyd with griping and loosnes and sore hips./

shee had in this time 2 pittiful nights, especially the one of them. At that time 2 things I desir'd of the Lord 1. A heart to subject my wisdom and wil to his touching the childs life or Extremity. he knows what is best, and is as tenderly affected as I, and much more. 2. That I may maintain good thoughts of god while he afflicts amare deum castigantem I haue

giuen up my daughter to him with all my heart desiring she may be his, rejoycing he hath giuen me a child to giue up to him. And shall he not do with his own as he will, either to afflict it or take it to himself. His glory is better than the eas of the creature, and yet his glory shall be coincident with our good.

1656 After this the Lord mercifully recovered it, and it is now grown and come to be a quarter old. Friday May 16.

1656

[Two blank pages]

Fons vitae me vivifica. pudet me penitus sensualitatis et mutilitatis meae domine. quo usque differs preces meas exaudire? tu es vita mea, fac ut ego vivam per te. ne sim carnalis adhuc dum verbum spiritualis vitae praedico. Aperi os meum ut labia mea celebrent te, non modo sabbato sed quotidie. vivant alii per verbum tuum ut fructus aliquos videam. et jam cum deo et christo opus aggredior huius sabbati. tu mihi princip. tu mihi finis eris. Dec. 14. idem a merid.

Attolle lumen vultus tui super me domine Corruant superbia, sensualitas, iracundia, vanitas cogitationum et verborum hodie medullitus et ex animo precor./ Lubens gaudensque tibi hodie servio in Evangelio filii tui, ovitulare mihi. sabbat D. 21.

December 27. I haue been greatly exercised with the spleen these sundry weeks, and yet I find no abatement of it. I know not what god wil do with me. I desire to follow him by faith, when I cannot by sence. Blessed be his name that yet I haue a little strength to serv him. I desire to serv my god this day if I know what my heart desires; Lord strengthen me.

sabbath December 28. Lord I am going to hear what thou wilt speak to me or by me, I am to preach out of *Psalms* 119 49 concerning living by faith; oh teach me this blessed lesson! and others by me. Tu mihi princip. tu mihi finis.

Tibi domine Jesu, tuus sum, et tibi studeo. January 1 thursday.

Cum deo et christo. princip. et fine. January 2.

ah Lord spiritualize my mind and heart to be conversant about the doctrine of the saints future glory. tuo nomine, et robore et propter te hodie domine saturday January 3.

Sabbath January 4. Lord fit me for thy heavenly truth (concerning the saints future glory) sanctify me by it assure me of mine interest in it, that the thoughts of death may not dismay me.

[Half line undecipherable]

Saturday. Sis mihi principium, sis mihi finis &c. dolet me ob carnales affectiones et passiones iracundas domine. January 10

Sabbath. Lord I am not worthy to be owned or pittied by the, a sink of sin! so frowardly passionate, so earthly and carnal as I have bin this week past. for the Lords sake hide not away thy face this day. oh! when wilt thou come to me? when wilt thou mortify these lusts, when wilt thou giue me a heart to savour the things of god above all other things? oh that it might be this day! I wil beg, I wil wait for the Lord's salvation. and now with gods assistance for god this day. 11.

Ah Lord! my soul longs yea it even faints for thy salvation: I haue desired and long begged power against the carnality of my heart, that this lust might dy, and the contrary grace be increased: but yet I find my heart as carnal as some years since for ought I can tell. the world I can savour the things of god I cannot. Lord! why witholdest thou thy spirit which thou hast promised to them that ask it? thou hast kept me waiting, but given me no sensible answer these many years. Wil thy own glory, wil christs merits, will thy promis wherein thou hast made me hope prevail any thing with the? why, good Lord then at last be found of me, this day. sabbath. January 25. 25

A deo et ad deum thursday. January 29. 29

idem. thursday. *Lord without thee I can do nothing Leave me not to my own understanding.* 30

4 things I earnestly beg this day. the light of thy Countenance oh Lord, the efficacy of thy grace to subdue my lusts and make me more fruitful, the assistance of thy spirit in the work of the ministry that I may do it with an enlarged heart and utterance and for thee, Finally the salvation, and Edification of this poor people. Fiat domine, fiat idem ex corde precor February 8. sabbath. mortify Lord these earthly members which stake me down to the things of this world. &c. sabbath February 1st.

saturday. February 14. Lord make me to understand thy word aright oh leav me not to my own mistakes. make me to delight more abundantly in thy self and service for the Lords sake, and fit me for thy day. amen

oh my god I bless the for any mesure of advantage against my sinful neglect of good discours. Lord increas thy grace in me and mortify corruption more and more. oh thou that hearest prayer, answer gratiously my long and longing desires after the Light of that countenance, and Heavenly mindedness this day. [Two words undecipherable] sabbath. february 15.

[Two words undecipherable] *Lord let curiousness die this day for the Lord sake I feel and I fear it.*

Oh Lord I do in some measure hunger after good by thy word this day which sutes my heart plague out of Mathew 6. 28. 29. 30. and Collossians 3. 5. Coveting which is idolatry. It grieveth me to find so much idolatry in my self after all means to the contrary. march 29.

1657 In April I went to Rowley (the week after the elders went up to Harford) and tarry'd a Fourtnight, being sorely exercised with a cold most of that while. blessed be the Lord we got safe home.

May. 19. tuesday

1657 This day is appointed for an issue about my settlement. Lord I look up to thee for wisdom and guidance in so sollemn a busines. I haue all along been exercised with discouragements since I came hither. 1. with mr Hills marrying of himself which I understood to be very ridiculous in the opinion of the country where it was noised. 2. with the contestations between the Town and the Treasurer about the hous I live in. 3 with the peoples slownes in keeping their seasons of bringing in, and making good their engagements. 4. with the returns of my nightly distemper occasioned by study about church Goverment, and my want of insight thereinto, or of strength to attain it: 5. with fears of Mr Hills judgement about baptism; he being an elder elect. now finding him staggering or unsound I held it altogether unsafe to let his ordination proceed. so I used means to bring out his opinion and prevent the other. The Lord hath in some measure removed all these, qua discouragements, so far as I find my self inclinable to the place and people and work of christ among them. There is yet another afflicting thing; And that is a multitude of great black buggs which do swarm all over the hous no room nor place free, no cupboard, pot, &c. like Pharaohs froggs. And they eat all kind of food and we apprehend they haue eaten some cloaths also. I am loath to make this a discouragement (though a great affliction) because I hope it may be removed in some measure by plaistering the chimneys and stopping their holes, or els by building new chimneys of brick. or if there be no remedy by building a hous in another place.

There seem's to be a clear call of god unto office-work. For. 1. Here is a poor desolate people alwayes without an officer til they got a bad one and were glad to be rid of him. but now brought lower then ever. 2. This people unanimous, importunate, constant in desiring me. 3 The neighbours also resorting much unto us. 4 Gods marvelous work in carrying me (so weak) through the difficulty of the work in this place. his presence with me here hath been such as this seems to be the place. 5. I apprehend this place both in respect of nearness to the bay and many other ways most sut-

able to my weaknes. 6 The constant inclination of my own spirit unto it notwithstanding all discouragements, and not to any other; though I haue not been without some sollicitations.

[Here the diary proper ends. The remainder of the book contains miscellaneous notes and reflections, written mainly in shorthand and beginning at the other end of the volume.]

[Beginning at the other end of the volume]

I am afraid of drawing near God in so holy an ordinance for I cant find any power to prize Christ and communion with him at some times Oh if God leave me to the pretending of my own heart as I deserve he should I shall no more value him than the dry dust I tread under my feet and I shall find my heart so many times left when I will come nearest God For this cause I am afraid

My unbelieving heart saith I have backslidden so oft so daily continued and laid under the power of my backslidings so long and so few comings out of them and will the Lord accept of me Shall I be welcome if I return Will his heart be toward me?

[Three-quarters of a page blank]

I had occasion about the ijth *of* February *to go and visit Jeremy Peck*[48] *and took occasion to speak what a blessed thing it was to seek and serve the Lord to have him for our portion who only was an abiding friend. So I fell into discourse with him about his soul. He told me he still saw himself sinful and miserable and though he had precious means yet he could not be sensible of it He found he could do nothing notwithstanding all his purposes and resolutions I told him true yet God will do* nothing *without ourselves. There is the more need to cry restlessly for help. Among other things I advised him to be plain in confession of sin particularly before God.* He answer'd me that he was affraid to confess his sins before god, because he had heard Mr Davenport say, take heed when thou comest before god to confess sin that god enter not into judgment with thee, and condemn the out of thyne owne mouth. I told him that was when we confess but are not desirous to forsake.

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A man was afraid he had sinned against the Holy Ghost and came to a minister who answered him in short hast thou sinned that sin Why comest thou to me those that have committed that sin are not wont to be sorry for it. This being told her by her mother gave her some comfort at present but continued not after she had resort to that first Isaiah 16. *Though your sins be as crimson yet they shall be*

[48] Jeremiah Peck, a student at Harvard from 1653 to 1656, was schoolmaster at Guilford, Connecticut, from 1656 to 1660 and later a minister.

as wool. After God directed me to that book called The Christian's Daily Walk of Mister Scudder[49] *Spoke to the comfort of such as are so buried with temptation in it there was a description of the sin against the Holy Ghost He showed that these temptations so blasphemous they were the devil's sins and the soul's burden wherein I had great comfort by God's mercy yet not free from temptation. I was at a conference where there was a question how to discern the temptation of Satan from those of our own concupiscence in which I reaped much resolution and comfort. In this condition the Lord brought me to see all my duties which I had rested in were nothing worth The Lord brought me to resolve with myself though he kill me yet will I trust in him If I must* [*be*] *damned yet it shall be in the way of obedience as far as God enabled me. And I was in some measure contented though I should be damned. But the Lord left me not long in this hopeless estate but directed Mister Newman*[50] *to preach out of* Isaiah 66.2. *To him that is poor and of contrite spirit will I look He showed what the soul must be to whom the* lord *will look and how the Lord worked this poverty of spirit. And the qualifications of a soul truly poor in spirit so that by God's mercy I had abundance of unspeakable comfort in the time of his preaching this sermon He preached out of Revelation* 2. 4 5 *thou hast left thy first love He said this was the first love in conversion and that every true convert had this first love and that was Jesus Christ and showed how this love was Christian indeed to every spiritual object to God and his word ordinances people* &c. *And how the soul did admire Jesus Christ and free grace that he was to it the chief of* 10000 *In this time I had very much spiritual joy I heard Mister Flint*[51] *out of* Isaiah 57. 16. *He showed God contends with every soul before he speaks peace to it whereby I was encouraged that the Lord had spoken peace to me*

I doubted how I loved Christ

It was answered our love to Christ did appear in our love to his word ordinances people as we saw Christ in them

[One page blank]

November *26. 1654* At a private meeting

Rules of daly practise for living to God.

1: Know and consider what is thy duty

2ly. Look up to christ as thy head for strength

3ly Be deeply sensible of thy unworthynes of any help from him

4ly Be thankful for what he gives

[49] Henry Scudder, *The Christians Daily Walke in Holy Securitie and Peace* (London, 1627).

[50] Samuel Newman, educated at Oxford, came to New England in the 1630's and eventually became minister at Rehoboth.

[51] Henry Flint came to New England in 1635 and became minister at Braintree.

5ly Improve it, and be doing with what he giveth wayting with patience for more assistance.

In meditation

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objection: What if god deny me the spiritual grace which I want? I seek him but find little coming.

Answer

1 By this means God wil make thee deeply sensible to thy own vilenes and of the vastnes of thy wants.

2: Hereby He wil make thee more earnest in desires after grace to do better

3ly He wil accept thy wil for thy deed

4ly. He wil by degrees increas spiritual strength in what manner, measure and season he seeth fit

so that it is not in vain to continue praying though thou feel little good come in for the present.

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Considerations against Pride

Consider. 'Tis a sin committed with greatest ingratitude. For 'tis not onely against the god that made, the tender father who has nourish't the, kept thee fed the, (not with bread and water of affliction, but bountifull allowance) whose everlasting armes have supported thee, who brought the over the deeps out of a place of sin and sorrow's into a good land flowing with milk and hony, abounding with heavenly manna, who hath preserv'd the in so many fearful dangers, from the fury of so many raging devils: who when he hath had the at advantage nevertheles hath pitty'd the and spared the with astonishing long sufferance; who hath striven with thee by his spirit though griev'd many a time, though quench't with thy filthy lusts: who hath taken the from servile imployment to attend upon him in a better way, though against thy will: who hath pluck't the out of sathans jaws and the belly of hell at last, when he finally leavs 1000s better then thee, yea after he had for a season cast thee off, yet his after mercys revisited thee; and he hath not onely pardon'd but cover'd thy sin from the eys of men, though thou be provoking him before many, and giving the Devils caus to blaspheme, that one of his children rebels against him. And not onely soe but in a word God hath (when thou deserv'st nothing but everlasting confusion) freely given thee Himself, his christ, his grace, yea and all he hath, save onely his glory (which he retains to

himself and will not giue to another, yet) that also thou takest from him. ah foolish and wicked wretch! doest thou thus requite the Lord for his bounty. God and all grace might haue gone one way, and thou another taking an Everlasting farewel of one another: but his everlasting loue has made over to thee all that god has, one thing excepted, (which to haue would do thee no good but harme) yet ev'n that, thou art pilfering and stealing from him. should any of those whom thy soul loves, to whom thou hast shew'd kindnes deal thus with thee, would thou take it wel at their hands? yet thou art as vile a clay-heap and a greater sinner then any of them: but god is the King of glory, the fountain of fulness to whom all nations together are less than the drop of a bucket, yea less than nothing. May not heaven and earth stand amazed that thou should deal so with him.

2ly 2ly Tis a sin committed with abominable impudency. Amongst men we account him impudent and ridiculous, who having but mean skill, yet hath the face to vaunt of his skill or to bear himself as if he were some body in the presence of an Artist. why this thou doest in gods presence every day; and can god look upon this and not loath the for it? such blind moles as goe up and down the world and see no god in the world, no marvel though they think themselues somebodys, because they see none better than themselues perhaps: But for thee that hast seen the glory off the Lord of hosts, that walkest (or shouldst walk as in his presence continually) for thee to think highly of thy self,! what is this but for the thistle to boast before the Cedar, for a smal taper to glory, before the sun. And can thou see thy self thus doing and not be confounded with thine reproachfull impudency?

3 Again thou doest hereby what lies in the to frustrate the end of all that god has done for thee: thou endeavourest to make God haue giuen his son out of his bosom, and christ haue giuen himself to the death in vain. For why doth christ saue the by grace, free grace? why least any man should boast therefore 'tis of grace that, so he that glorys might glory in the Lord. And why doth christ redeem thee? why that being redeemed from thy enemys thou might serv him without fear all the days of thy life. wel then, whilest thou servest thy self glory's in thy self what becomes of gods end, which he thought to accomplish with the giving his son to the death? he may lose all that he has bought so dear, for ought that thou regardest it. Nay thou strivest to make him lose it. Gods glory is his last end. now the end is better than the means. god priz'd his glory infinitely more than the world which he made for his glory. Hence, when robbst him of his glory thou doest him a far greater injury than if thou shouldest turn him out of his own world, take it away from him, or utterly spoil and deface it. Nay god prefer'd his glory before the life of his son, it was dearer to him. Hence

(which with astonishment thou might think of, and tears of blood bewayl) so oft as thou derogatest from gods glory, and robs him of that, thou dost more wound him to the heart, then if thou should imbrue thy hands daly in the blood of his son Jesus christ, and wound him with a spear upon the cross.

4ly This is the vilest idolatry that can be imagined did thou fall down before the sun, moon, or stars, before a dog or cat, why yet this were to adore something. but adoring some self excellency, this is to worship that which is not, for in me dwells no good thing. nay 'tis to adore a sinner, an enemy to god, a murderer of my owne soul: One that has bin in some sence far worse than the devil; and therefore better adore him than my self.

5ly This sin makes me likest unto the Devil. what made the Angels of light become damned spirits, but pride: this sin banish't them out of heaven: am I then an heir of heaven, traveling thitherward, and do I giue it intertainment? It was the ringleader of Sodom's sins, and pull'd down streams of fire and brimstone upon their heads: and do I retain a Sodom within the temple of the holy-ghost.

6ly 'Tis a turning of christ's grace into wantonnes a making of gods gracious gifts to serv my base lust: I fight against the Lord and make him find weapons: the grace he has bestow'd that I fight against him withall.

Tis also in me a sin against all the dreadful examples of gods judgements for it. what was sodom's ringleading sin? they were proud and haughty, and they must fry in flame of fire for it; streames of burning brimstone must wash away the stain of this from off the earth. Proud Pharaoh and his Egyptians must sink in the red sea yea and if Miriam a prophetess will begin a proud contest with Moses she is smitten with leprosie for a warning unto others. Nebuchadnezzar must be driven from among men and eat grass with the ox, till he had learnt this lesson to exalt god and not himself. And Belshazzar his son taken away by a dreadful judgment because he did not learn to humble himself from the example of gods judgement on his father. Herod is smitten of an Angel and consum'd with vermin because he took delight in the peoples over-applauding him. 7ly

It is a sin against the place and persons where I liue. David sins his heart is lifted up, and 70000 must dy by the destroying angels sword. Hezekiah's heart is lifted up, but wrath comes upon Judah and Jerusalem: all must goe into captivity. so by my pride I draw downe judgements as with cart-ropes upon the people and place where I liue, and so become an Achan in the camp of Israel. 8ly

This is a grievous sin against myne owne soul. 1 It provokes god to lead me through a howling wilderness of fiery temptations to humble and 9ly

prove me and shew me what is in my heart. 2ly the pleasing my self with some conceived good in my self keeps me from feeling and mourning under my daly necessity of christ; so that I prize him not cannot long after communion with him, can see no bewty in him why I should desire him. Hence. 3ly. It shuts god and all his grace from my soul. he dwels with the humble and contrite, but he beholds the proud afar off: hence he hides his face from me and I am troubled, filled with disquietment and fears and terrours. hence he is angry with my prayers and graunts not my requests, delivers me not from my sins, but lets them be thornes in the flesh to buffet me, that I might learn to walk humbly with my god. yea he resisteth the proud: hence he crosseth my contrivances, and blasteth my indeavours, and disappointeth my hopes and expectations, and feeds me with the Torment of emptiness, with vexation and rebuke where I hoped to haue met with comfort. so that my soul is overwhelmed with trouble, and I could even roar or make a noise for the disquietment of my heart, but how little kindly melting is there for this my iniquity which causeth it, as 'tis committed against my god?

This is my pride and the fruits of it and if I see so much god sees much more evil in it/

Considerations against sensuality, and delighting more in the creature than in god.

Another principal prevailing evil in my heart is that I cannot prize or see a glory in communion with god, and those solaceings of my self in his love which sometimes god has giv'n me. In the time of my trouble, when creature comfort fail then I fly to god and cry to him arise and save me; but yet again sometimes att the publick ordinances my heart is so leven'd with slouthful sensuality, that it cannot savour or relish the things of god, or the sence of his love let out in a more than ordinary manner. But on the other hand I can lose my heart in letting out mine affections immoderately to creature comforts, and I can find too much sweetness in them. The formidable face of this sin sometimes makes me a terrour to my self But Lord humble me kindly under it that crying to the for rescue from such a tyrant, it may be possible with god to redeem me from it.

Consid 1.

It argues greatest Atheism. are creature refreshments (which are to day, and gone to morrow, which are daly leaving me desolate and disquieted, as experience tells me, which can comfort no longer than god shines upon them) are those realitys to thee, and the consolations of the holy ghost but a fancy? sure thou deemest them soe. else the loue of a god

could not but be more worth, and the sence of it more desireable than all the favour of men, which passeth away like the wind.

It argues a Carnall, fleshly, sensual, spirit debasing it self below the sphear of a reasonable creature, much more of a son of God. such was the spirit of the ould world that could more savour the sensuall delights, than those spirituall pleasures at gods right hand. and gods spirit was so greeved with them that he would strive with them no longer because they also were flesh: therefore it repented him that he had made man upon the earth: and they were aggravation of his wrath whom he took away with a flood. There is no condemnation to them that be in christ. but who be they? why such as liue not after the flesh, but after the spirit. if ye liue after the flesh ye shall dy saith the Holy ghost. if my soul can live upon sensual contentments, what do I but liue after the flesh? 2ly

'Tis a fayling gods expectation. he might haue Looked that though all my life whilest I knew him not and the good of injoying him why I could liue At eas without desire of him, yet having tasted how gracious and sweet the Lord is, communion with him should haue been more worth than thousands of gould and silver; but I haue both seen and tasted and yet cannot prize it. 3ly

Nay I do dispize it lightly esteem of the rock of my salvation which is foul ingratitude. Among men who can indure to haue their love despiz'd? And shall the God of glory come down from his throne to comfort me when I was almost sinking under the waight of a mountain of lead upon my shoulders? did he put under his everlasting armes and support me, yea did he take off the load of my sins, and take and put me in his bosom to cherish me, giving me to find more sweetness there than ever I found in wayes of sin? and do I thus requite him, to set light by that loue? do I account the consolations of the Lord a small thing? Doe they that dispize common mercys treasure up to themselues wrath against the day of wrath? what treasures of vengeance then, do contemning such speciall grace deserv? 4ly

What greater indignity can be offered to God than to idolize and set up creatures not onely equall with god, but aboue god in my heart which should be his temple. is this to glorify him? Nay 'tis to ungod him to dethrone him. And is not that a traitour indeed, that doth seek to set up a perishing creature in the creatours throne? 5ly

This is spirituall adultery, and it provokes the Lord to Jelousy who hath espoused my soul to himself, that he alone might haue my heart kept chast and my affections intire to himself. But I can intertain dalliance with strange lovers and shut christ my Lord out of dores, and I can let the 6ly

creature into my affections, but find no room for the god of glory. Not to love christ were an amazing prodigious sin, but to love the creature with that affection which is due onely to christ this were spirituall adultery and falsness in the covenant; but to haue loue to the creature and communion therewith, and not to haue love to christ and fellowship with him: Heaven and earth may be astonished that such a thing should be found in a heart that had ever tasted the sweetness of christ. doth falsness in the Covenant with man deserv both temporall and eternal death? oh then the guilt that this falshood leaves upon me!

7ly 7ly This is greatest injury to the creature: to se it self set in gods room how would it blush if it were capable of it? how doth the whole creation groan under the burthen of this sin? when thou leanest the weight of thy soul upon it, and would make it a prop to bear the up, it groans under that as too great a burthen fit for the rock of ages onely to sustain.

The relation of Mr Collins[52]

I desire to look at it as a mercy for which I shall ever have cause to bless God that he has pleased to let me live under glorious living gracious dispensers of the Scripture and has out of his grace caused me to be educated under such parents and tutors whose care it was to commend me to be conversant in the holy will and in such duties as they knew God had appointed himself to be set and as continue to be found Hence I had never been suffered to lie at ease in security in my natural estate as those that are out of God's hope and from his ordinances but that from 9 years old and upward the Lord has been working on me sometimes by his word sometimes by his rod to show me what my Christless condition was by nature &c. *and that everlasting wrath was my portion as being born an heir of and incapable of avoiding it by anything I was able to do. God's stirrings as had been exceeding frequent though I had been careless as to bring forth fruit answerable thereto so I had not taken such notice thereof* &c. *which I desire to mourn and be humbled for.*

Reading Mister Hooker's book called The Soul's Preparation for Christ[53] *it pleased God to let me see I was one needed preparation for him which as it moved me to consider seriously of my condition to resolve to pray and read Scriptures and attend to sermons that I might be able to give account to my parents and to mend my life which was the farthest thing I aimed at So far it wrought with me as sometimes to be asking my parents some questions about my condition and to have some fears and amazement and startling what was to become of me. But after I began to go to school and frequent the company of such as were as careless as myself of any*

[52] See note 17.

[53] Thomas Hooker, *The Soules Preparation for Christ* (London, 1632). Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut, was one of the most popular preachers of the time and author of books which were widely read in old England as well as New.

things that considered their everlasting good I began to disrelish what formerly I had savoured and to neglect reading and prayer after that poor sinful fashion which then I used so I had gone and had not the Lord visited me with the small pox which disease was so strong that I thought I should die and I thought I should go to hell remembering how I had backslidden and forgotten God but the Lord was pleased to set me awork to sigh to him and to make me promise another manner of life than hetherto *I had done if he pleased to recover me*

But after that I soon forgot what I promised and turned aside worse than before I thought I was going and had now escaped this sickness and need fear no other a great while hence my heart harder than ever hence I began to disrelish God's sabbaths and counted them a burden All I did endeavour was only to please man I turned aside after other gods and thought repentance would come time enough hereafter I should but lease these delights which I might have at present and afterward it would be time enough to look after God. My father took notice of it and told me that having had such living affection as I had had certainly the Lord did intend only to harden me against the day of wrath and after I had filled up the measure of my sin God's wrath would seize upon me but this took no effect.

Afterward Mister Hooker preaching out of First Romans 18 here I thought he certainly knew what a sinner I had been what covenants I had broke and seeing I had held the truth in unrighteousness I thought I was as good as in hell already one that had so grievously abused the light there would be no other portion for me

Mister Shepard had a doctrine that here means of grace make not men better there they always make them worse Here they soften not there they harden This did exceeding startle me knowing it was my condition but I soon shook that off Ever after on any wooing of God's spirit that truth hath first come to my mind to make me mind my own salvation with fear and trembling I thought I was one of those whom the means of grace was only for their hardening against the day of wrath.

15 John 22 Mister Shepard he showed that sin against and after clear conviction of sin was a great aggravation of sin and that man had no excuse for it I thought that my case and therefore there was no cloak for my sin therefore no pardon God continued this by a word out of 63 Isaiah 20 *observed that rebellion against the Lord Jesus is that which grieves the spirit and the grieving of God's spirit is that for which God turns an eye to any man Some he showed were fugitives that had fled from under God's hand and now like Eve they would not come at him Notwithstanding that I see my case I had fled away from God and had rather live at peace in my sins than right by God's spirit for my God Therefore I thought God was become my enemy and nothing to be expected but that he should now come out against me as an enemy and yet this brought me but to a solemn discontented frame of heart I thought I was but travelling to the place of execution*

and therefore I desired to pass away my time with as much comfort and jollity as I could.

My temptation increased so far as to provoke me to murder my self or some of my friends that so I might be soon brought to an end for this temptation did almost bodily distract me as inwardly distress me I did not tell the president when he spoke to me the chief cause.

I was resolved to tell nobody but to fill my measure to my self. Afterward that I might let the president know I intended not to follow his counsel I sent to borrow an idle book out of the Library &c. I was kept under the lash of Satan's terrors that he might give me the more easily a false peace

And so he did for upon my Admission *He soon gave me a false peace those times that were appointed for God's worship we spent in thinking our own thoughts speaking our own words doing our own works hardening one another. So I wandered very far after my own devices though he the Lord was not wanting to me by awakening me in those times when most vile when going farther from him neither did I or durst I neglect altogether prayer and reading the word yet with so much formality and hypocrisy as rather increased than otherwise my loathing of them*

To go read at [undecipherable] 9: ij *think not the son of man will come At this the Lord was pleased to awaken me yet I thought I had better live securely in my sins than think of that now There would come some sickness when I should have nothing else to do but think of that.*

Say to the righteous he shall eat the fruit of his doings and so shall the wicked do too I found my sins as dear as my life and therefore I had as leave keep the one as the other. Yet at a private meeting the Lord stirred me again to the repetition of a sermon out of 6 Genesis 12 At this time the Lord set in with me to show me I was a son of God by outward covenant yet had corrupted my way therefore *I thought it just with God to bring distraction on the whole country society congregation that belonged to me and I thought that was the cause of all the crosses they met with I thought the Lord might wail over me as a tender father over a* [undecipherable] *son* &c. *This somewhat affected me I thought if the Lord would send his spirit again I should now change to live inwardly as formerly I had done outwardly.*

He hath all power given him that he might give everlasting life to as many as thou hast given him. I thought I was one that was called for I knew myself to be a dead sinner but how I could not tell for I argued how formerly I had refused close walking with God and though all power were given into his hand yet I thought he had not power enough to pardon my sins so that I not only provoked God by my sins but sinned against his all-sufficiency in not persuading myself that he could pardon my sins. When I came home the Lord stirred me up to look over the sermon again and when I would have prayed I could not I could not look up to

God My sins stood all before me I took up the Bible and God directioned me to the 5 Hosea *Oh Ephraim what will I do to thee Thy goodness is as the morning dew* &c. *Here the Lord was pleased to show me I had been one whose good melts away like the evening dew that no* ingagements *or bonds or ties could hold me Though he had slain me by his prophets* &c *yet I had dealt treacherous in his covenant therefore I thought if God could not tell what to do with me what should I do with myself Therefore my condition was exceeding sad.*

Mister Sherman out of 13 Luke 7 3 years have I come seeking fruit and found none &c. *Such as are to be cut down he showed were impenitent sinners whom God had come seeking fruit but they brought forth none Such I knew myself and God's former dealings spoke aloud to me I thought I cumbered to my place God should be exceeding just to cut me down. God also brought to remembrance 6 Hebrews 7 8 9 the ground that drinketh the rain that falls upon it* &c. *Nigh to cursing whose end is to be burned all my life I knew I had brought forth nothing but thorns and briars I thought I was under the curse both of the law and covenant and that death spiritual everlasting would soon seize upon me Satan told me it was too late to pray My time was past God had left me a long time and therefore there was little hopes he would return to me again.*

Mr shepard *sent to speak with me Hearing how I was he advised me to be constant in private prayer and to be willing to lay down at God's feet that he might do with me as he would. For he hoped that God would have thoughts of mercy toward me though I had carried it still so evil toward me This somewhat comforted me again First the Lord forewarned me what should come upon me being at first to a private exposition and God left me to great and gross disobedience to my parents and so to myself he inflicted the greatest affliction that ever I had When I laid so sore wounded it pleased God to show me more of my vileness (when I lay sore wounded) and also to such great pains as God stirred up Mister Shepard to take for me and with me who came and prayed with me and wrestled with God for my life.*

He told me of my former carriage and of some sins which I had mentioned to him in private at that time and before yet he wished me still to wait *on God and to part with every sin to resolve again constantly to follow God and to seek him The Lord was pleased so far to affect me that I saw something into the nature of sin and what infinite wrong I did to God. When I grew somewhat well and thought how foolish I had been to disobey my parents and put them to so much trouble and grief and myself with so much pain* &c. *the Lord struck my heart with that sin against thee against thee only have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight It was to him that I had done that wrong I had grieved him or else he would have never grieved me thus I had revolted from him so that I thought that I had infinite cause to bless God and that he had given me time to think of my*

sins Though I should be lame all my life yet I thought that exceeding easy that I had my life for a prayer. This the Lord continued by a sermon I pray not for the world He showed there were a world of men and women that Christ never prayed for much less died for therefore it stood everyone in hand to consider whether Christ Jesus had prayed for him or no I knew no provision why Christ should pray for such a poor vile wretch as I yet I thought it were an infinite mercy if he had and I should think my whole life well stood to be given to his glory but I feared he had not

Mister Dunster preached out of ij *Matthew 25. 26. It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for these. He observed where grace abounds in the offer there sin and judgment abounds in the impenitent refuser of it. I thought that for the sins committed in the days of my peace if he should deal with me for those sins it was just with God to let it be a foundation of everlasting wrath to me and if God should let my damnation come on my holding to my sins why I saw it was just with him so to do The Lord stirred my spirit all the time that that blessed man lived from that least visitation of his and when God took him away he struck me with astonishment as* [*I*] *knew my sins had deserved it. I thought if God should now leaved* [sic] *me to a serious conscience hard heart blind mind it was just with him and indeed so he might do for I desire ever to be sensible of many great outbreakings of my corruptions soon after.*

Mr Mitchel *mentioned those had especial cause to bewail his death whom God had begun to do some good to by him but the work was left in the midst and I feared God &c. Yet God stirred me up to desire he would not leave his own work in me.*

Out [*of*] ij *Matthew 26 the Lord directed me to desire that I might no more turn back and corrupt my doing but might now follow on to know the Lord lest my judgment should be greater than that of Sodom and Gomorrah.*

130 Psalms Mister Mitchel preaching out of that These deeps he showed to be a miserable forlorn estate when those that were in them were too dislocate to get out of them God showed me I was in such deep such pits as never were in the like I thought God had laid these as a just plague upon me that he had hardened my heart from his fear and as my soul had loathed him so his soul might loathe me and the rather because I thought God had given me up to his own heart's lust so did I thought I better to be in hell if I could be there without sin than to do God such infinite wrong by my sins I thought if ever God had thoughts of pardon I should be infinitely engaged to him all my days ij *Matthew 27.*

He showed all things were committed to Christ that he might show himself

I thought then there was power enough to pardon my sins mercy enough to pity my misery Therefore if desired he would show forth the glory of his mercy in pardoning such sins as I stood guilty of though it were just with him if he should

not forgive but mark my iniquity yet I thought there was power. When Mister Mitchel insisted upon that I thought it the best news that ever could be heard that ever there should be forgiveness for poor sinners I saw myself so vile that if it had been better that the whole world should be turned to nothing than God offended why I thought my sins so great that I dare not think there could be any forgiveness for them yet I thought if God would forgive me and not only so but change my vile nature that I might no more sin against him with such reigning power of sin it would be exceeding great mercy but whether this forgiveness was for me I durst not apply to myself

Mister Dunster

Showed it was the duty of poor heavy laden souls under their sins to come to Christ for lest [*rest?*] *I thought myself such an one yet the marks he laid down did not all agree therefore I knew not what measure* [word blotted out] *of being laden. Therefore I knew not how to lay hold of Christ. Mister Mitchel laid down these things that they should live to Christ close with him and to bless him. I suspected my own heart I thought it would be the greatest happiness to close with God live to him bless him but I feared my own heart God let Satan assault me with great and strong temptations many of which prevailed upon my wretched heart. I feared all I had done hitherto was nothing but hypocrisy that I was not* obj. *elected that I was a dog for whom God had no bread Many sabbaths past and came and I got little good but was discontented and sad and was apt to cavil sometimes against the word and against God and thought I was not dealt kindly with to be kept this long under* [one word undecipherable] *of spirit and despair but God gave me then some comfort in telling me* that *here there was much smoke and little fire yet God would not quench and that it was my duty to wait patiently on him and hope in his word and that I might more really and perfectly close with the Lord Jesus which I did earnestly desire to attend to but so strong were the workings of Satan's cavils and of my own distempers that I think I had sunk away had not the Lord brought in some relief by that sermon 6 John 35 I am the tree of life where in the use we were exhorted to come to Christ first from the sense of sin* 2ly *from the grace of Christ I thought if sinners were called to come to Christ and that should be an argument from sense of their sins then the Lord Jesus would have me come to him I thought none labored under so much sin without any relief from myself I desired though dead in sin to go to Christ to quicken me to take him as he offered himself to me*

The Lord brought to my mind that place oh wretched man who shall deliver me from this load of death If Paul after he came to Christ had a load of sin and death why then it should not be my great sin that should keep me from Christ

Remembrance of my sin and the power of it and the breaking it out as Satan was ready to suggest divers temptation that further distracted me till first John 4

Mister Mitchel showed we should not be kept from coming to the Lord Jesus by provision of sin for he came for a ransom for sinners He presented me with these 2 things first his own free offers I saw Christ holding out himself freely to me though I had sinned as never any had done Why then should I refuse to come to him and 2ly *for Christ's end I thought if I could be willing he should take away my vile heart and change me and help me to live to him I thought then Christ was mine. I heard then we come aright to Christ if we come for life if we desired to be to his honor to live to him I thought I came only to him for life and did desire that I might live to him. I thought I could see myself in some measure weary and heavy laden and therefore I was called to come to him that he might give me rest He told me it was he that took away the iniquity of his people for his name sake I thought it was not the time I had stood out against him that hindered me from coming to him for he set not any time when he said let the wicked forsake his* &c. *I desired to return to him with weeping and supplication because I had forgot him and I desired to rest upon him for all that grace which he had prophesied for all those that come to him I could not question his willing nor power if I could but get my heart to close with him I desire to be more vile in my own eyes and desired to lay down his hand and desired him to mould* me *according to his will.*

For assurance of faith I can't or dare not say but I hope I have closed with the Lord Jesus as mine have the condition of the presence wrought in me by himself and further as Christ Jesus is a living Christ and so makes all life to be therefore this life in some poor measure I can see and do truth after that he hath broke the reigning power and dominions of my sins though so many are the outstartings of my heart from him that I have need to go continually to Christ Jesus as the fountain set open to Judah and Jerusalem I desire to keep a continual warfare against all sins I have had hope that I should see the face of a reconciled father in Christ Jesus. I would prize him over everything in this world though I am sensible of my own inability so to do. I do therefore with all all [sic] *thanks bless his name that has enwrapt me in any covenant which I do desire to own and to approach to him in society with his people and in his ordinance and there to have communion with him to be as near to him as may be.*

Question Do you find it your daily care to walk with God

Answer. *I am sensible and desire to be as long as I live as I have many and more perhaps than many others I know there can be no living union without daily command to walking with him living to him I know I can't do so in and of myself but in and by the strength of the Lord Jesus I would endeavour to keep* neere *to him and if my heart broke away from him why I desire to go to the same blessed* [*fountain?*] *for to wash and cleanse and renew me in my spirit I should exceeding question any sincerity if I should find the life of sin and not a bitter loathing thereof.*

John Green's Relation./[54]

The Lord began first to awaken me by Mister Shepard's catechize concerning the dread and terror of Christ Jesus coming to judgment The Lord help me to consider that I was one of those there spoke of I thought I was one of them and the Lord awakened me to seek him for grace and mercy which I saw I stood need of This consideration much broke my heart The Lord set me aseeking him in prayer and in reading and I resolved to seek the Lord and follow after him for mercy John French[55] *also being in a miserable sickness the Lord was pleased much to awaken me to it and to let me see that I was a miserable creature liable to God's wrath Considering of all my disobedience to parents my sabbath breakings and my many sins which the Lord help me to mourn for I saw that I was far from God and God far from me.*

Mister Shepard spoke in his catechize of man's misery by nature how he was far from God and God far from him I thought I was one of them I was an enemy to God and God to me.

Mr Mitchel *preaching out of 130 Psalms 2 showing the miserable estate of all unpardoned sinners how God would come to mark their iniquities and set all their sins in order before them I was one of those whose iniquity God would mark if I did not repent By this God set me aseeking after him in the use* off *means. God let me see much of the wretchedness of my heart Sore and sad temptations I had evil thoughts against the Lord. Sometimes I thought none so vile as I none so evil an heart so proud so stubborn so rebellious and I thought God would never show mercy to so vile a miserable wretch as I was. In the consideration of all the mercys that I had despised sabbaths ordinances lectures I thought now that I desired mercy it was just with God never to show mercy to me but forever to loath me and abhor me. Yet seeing myself a Christless undone creature by nature I thought whither ever I went if I did not go to Christ I should perish Therefore I resolved with myself forever to seek after him and I thought if I did perish I would perish seeking of him. Seeing besides all mine usual sins those heart sins which now I found and felt and those temptations I was under I thought it almost impossible that ever I should find favor with the Lord. Yet the Lord brought that place to me seek and ye shall find knock and it shall be opened ask and it shall be given I knew not but the Lord might be found of me therefore I resolved to follow him and never to leave him.*

But still daily seeing more of the wickedness of my heart how contrary it was to anything that was good seeing I had no power to think one good thought speak one good word that if *the Lord out of his free and abundant grace did not come and*

[54] So numerous were the John Greens of Malden and Cambridge that this one is impossible to identify.

[55] I have been unable to find any record of the John French referred to here.

show mercy to me I was undone forever. Speaking of this to my mother she told me the viler I was the more it was to the honor of God's grace to save me and she did encourage me still to seek him seeing I found nothing in myself I saw my help must be only in going to the Lord Jesus Christ. Know thou the God of thy father serve him with a perfect heart and willing mind &c. *Speaking of those poor children that did not now learn to know the God of their father God would come before long in judgment and send them packing to their long home they should see their parents going to heaven but themselves shut out I thought I was one of those finding my heart empty of all good full of all evil. Finding many temptations every day more and more prevailing. Speaking to my father he spoke to me 3 things first if thou canst find really a desire to Christ more than anything tis some sign thou hast some love to Christ but Christ has more to thee*

2ly *If thou resolve to wait on God as long as thou live*

3ly *If thou justify God if he should*

I thought I desired nothing but Christ to pardon all my sins subdue all my lusts for I had nothing in myself and I thought I had had some resolution to wait on him so long as I lived but yet I found so much evil of my heart that *I could hardly believe God could have any thoughts of mercy to one that had despised mercy and abused means of grace as I had done which the Lord was pleased to break my heart in consideration of and let me see an infinite need of Christ to save me out of that estate*

I thought of that 130 Psalms. 2. Out of the depth I cried to thee. He showed a soul in the depth of his misery should cry to the Lord I thought I was one myself under the power of Satan an enemy to God and so no way out to perish and had no power in myself to look up to God for help altogether miserable and vile as I was in myself when I went to seek the Lord in secret and to hear God's word and nevermore corruption and temptation prevailing. When I should have got nearest to God then I thought I was farthest from him and thought I grew worse every day than other

Mr. Mitchel *preaching out of 130.4. He showed the end of God's forgiving mercy was that he might be feared and those whose desire it was to love and fear him though no power in themselves yet God would have mercy of them I thought it were my happiness that I might fear and love him and sin no more but that I might walk with him in all holy and righteous. I thought I should rather be willing to bear any affliction than such sins to have such thoughts and corruption as then I found and felt The Lord made me mourn under them as the greatest evil and desire Christ as the greatest good all my salvation and hope must be only from the Lord out of his free and abundant grace and mercy to me. Seeing myself thus miserable I had no rest almost night or day no comfort to go about my occasions for I was a miserable Christless undone creature I looked for the fear of God's*

wrath to break upon me in this condition that now I was in / yet the Lord brought to mind Christ came not to call righteous but sinners to repentance I see I was a poor lost undone creature and knew not but Christ might come to call me though nothing in me that should cause the Lord to do anything for me 6 Hosea then shall we know if we follow on to know I knew not but God might show mercy if I did still wait.

ij *Matthew 29 come to me all ye that are weary and heavy laden I thought I was in some measure weary and heavy laden that I had no power against the last temptation I thought all the world would not content or give peace to my soul Only the Lord could pardon my sins subdue my lusts remove my temptations*

I thought the Lord was able to subdue my proud heart rebellious will making me lay at his feet able to conquer all my sins and temptations 130 Psalms. I will wait on the Lord and hope in his word Mister Mitchel showed those poor souls that have these resolutions to wait on the Lord whether he showed mercy to them or no I thought I had had those resolutions seeing all to be vanity in comparison of him

Seeking him daily in use of means in some measure I felt and found power against those temptations whereby I was assaulted which the Lord helped me to loathe myself for and I thought it mercy that I was at all enabled to know any good thoughts for of myself I was not able.

Question *was asked while Mister Mitchel preached out of that 130 Psalms when a poor soul might know its sins were pardoned. Answer he that finds power against sin his sins tis a sign they are pardoned I had found some power I thought which was an encouragement to me yet to seek the Lord and not to leave him.*

In the latter end of the Psalm he taught that he that was willing to part with all sin for Christ should have him I thought I was willing to part with all for Christ to save me from sin and to work all that grace and good I stood in need of. ☜

After this God visited me with the small pox yet I thought it nothing in comparison of the sickness of my soul I had found namely the burthen of my sin I thought I desired no other happiness but to have Christ to walk with him and to him that I might sin no more. But after that I found more violent temptations I thought than ever which made me go mourning up and down the earth and did take my heart off from all other confidence than only the Lord Jesus in whom I see all my hope all my help was. From that the poor and needy seek water I the Lord will hear and help I thought I was one poor needy naked vile stood in infinite need of the Lord Jesus to help and I knew not but the Lord might help me.

5 Matthew blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs are the kingdom of God From thence I thought I was one that was poor in spirit that had no grace or good in me no hope or help nothing in me all my prayers and tears were nothing as they came from me nothing but what might cause God loathe me.

From 65 Isaiah *O every one that thirsts come he that hath no manna come I thought I felt that poorness hunger emptiness and therefore knew not but the Lord might call me though not for any desert of mine. // Yet finding much corruption and many temptations yet in my heart and much hypocrisy night* evil *which I could not believe had it been told me before that I had such a heart as now I see and felt and found that I had to all the Lord was pleased to bring my heart in some measure to subjection to him that I desired to choose him as my chief good to forsake all other things and have no other portion but him alone.*

That hath been much comfort to my spirit here we know we are translated from death to life in that we love the brethren I thought those were the men whom I loved above any in the world for what of God I see in them Moreover God let me see more bitterness in sin than ever I saw in any connection and more pleasure in his sabbath and ordinances than ever I found in any sins Those things were once to me most bitter were now made most sweet.

1 Question *How know you that sin hath been the greatest evil to you.*

I see sin the greatest for first in that it separated me from all good 2ly *in that it offended my God*

2 Question *How can you make it out you love the people of God indeed for there may be love for by ends?*

I love them for that of God which I see in them and do love their company of all the company I can have in this world

3 Question *Did you ever see a need of Christ to reconcile you to the father. Answer Yes seeing myself an enemy to God and God to me I see an infinite* [*need*] *of the Lord Jesus God man to be a reconciler between God and me*

4 Question *Did God ever offer Christ to thee in the ministry of his word and* 2ly *did thou ever take him. Answer I hope in some measure I have.*

I had thought that if I had such enlargement and such hope then there might be mercy from me. But I heard one speak who made this condition of the covenant if thou hast this much enlargement. Christ requires no portion but mere poverty and emptiness

I thought that there was not such a vile heart in hell as mine and I thought there was no power enough in Christ to subdue such great sins as were in me though there were enough for my justification I was even sinking under the fears of this that there was no hope for me when God brought this to me why art thou cast down oh my soul Jonah's words though I seem to be cast out of thy sight yet I will look toward thine holy temple Why if I perished yet I would desire to perish in God's way.

41 Isaiah *when the poor and needy seek water I the God of Jacob will not forsake them* 43 Isaiah *though thou hast made me to serve with thy sins yet I am he*

that blots out thy iniquities for my name sake and will remember thy sins no more. But I thought my heart was not so burdened for sin as it should be. Why said he canst thou have thy heart so burdened for sin as it should be? Now labor to so be odious of thy sin and thy own insufficiency to save thy self and then go to the Lord Jesus Christ to succor thee.

But I have oft called my state in question ij *Matthew 28 come to me all that labor and are heavy laden* &c. *He showed there were burdens of sins and burdens of sorrows and burdens of care and burdens of thy callings Try thy self saith he which had been thy greatest burden My heart answered that sin had been my greatest burden. My master told me if I would know whether I loved God or no why there would be fear of him if I loved him I should fear him leave all the world and I should desire him and delight in him more than all the world else which I thought I did.*

The consideration of God's great love in sending his son to die for such a vile wretch as I am and considering that in this ordinance we draw nearest to God I thought what shall I render to the Lord I will take the cup of salvation and pay my vows to the most high and therefore I desire to draw near to Christ in this ordinance but I lie still under a daily burden of sin.

Since I came to New England *I heard more of the fullness of Christ than before and this is for empty ones.*

At Cambridge

November 18. 1653//

The Lord cast me into a godly family where I was well instructed and called upon to seek the Lord in secret prayer which sometimes I did sometimes I neglected The Lord by Mister Shepard let me see that all I had done could not please God because it was not done in faith I knew not how to help myself I spoke to my master of that which troubled me He was glad to see any stirrings in me and bid me labor to feel and to know God if I did seek him in my youth God took it very well that young ones should give up their first fruits to God. Hereupon I sought the Lord for a time but before long I neglected his counsel and seeking God and attending the good of my soul in the ministry

After this I was to go to sea I thought that God might reckon with me for all my sins I was afraid to go When I was at sea the Lord exercised us with storms and then all my sins came to my mind and I cried to God to hear me though I had thus walked contrary to him to hear me once and if he would this once spare my life I would live near to his praise but when the storm was over and danger past I kept a form of prayer indeed yet I hardened my heart from God's fear like Pharaoh Mister Shepard showed that the prayer of the wicked was like the howling of dogs and no better they howl upon their beds for myrrh and wine

and oil. This much affected me Hereupon I was assaulted with this temptation why wilt thou pray? But do nothing but sin I acquainted my master and he bid me of the two evils take the less. After this I heard that Mister Russell's son was propounded It much sunk my spirit to think I had outsat so many precious opportunities God would leave me to blindness and hardness and take others of my acquaintance.

mr shepard *spoke to this purpose I tell you young persons that have passed your 20 years and slept out your opportunities tis a wonder of wonders if ever God show you mercy Here I thought God had appended me to be a vessel of his wrath Afterward God refreshed me with the thought of some as* Manass *that had sold themselves to do wickedness yet God upon their humbling themselves returned them to favor This gave me hope but I thought that I had lived in place of knowledge and now to be ignorant of God there was no hope for such an one if he went on in sin.*

Mister Shepard showed there were many sons of perdition in godly families and I thought that was spoken to me for aught I knew I was he in that family whom God had appointed to be a son of perdition yet I thought the Lord delighted to show mercy unto poor sinners that had no righteousness in themselves After this the Lord spoke oft to my heart by that good man but I had caused to be humbled that I had not taken such notice of God's dealings.

After his death I thought God might just speak to me now no more or if he raised up an other why that he should send him to preach blindness and hardness to me yet after this God did speak to me.

130 Psalms If the Lord take hope to &c. *He showed none could stand before the Lord if he married iniquity yet such was the boldness of poor wretches that could stand with all their sins upon them and look God in the face I thought I was such a bold wretch that was not ashamed before God of all my sins. After God called me to be master of a family and I kept vain company and brought disorder to my family the Lord sent me trouble and vexation and saw it was the Lord's dealing. Another temptation after this presented itself so that I could never forsake my sin and follow the Lord indeed Sin was not better Christ not precious in thought so that I must now take another course. After this my heart was carried after the world and then God's ordinances uere dead things to me and dry Others could bless God for sermons but to me they were but a mere sound.*

Then Mister Dunster out of the 13 Matthew about the stony ground &c. *Many poor souls that did for a time grow and live yet had not grace when temptation came they came to nothing these were not fit to come into church fellowship Then I thought that I was such an one that had been called on to come into covenant but I thought I was not fit for such a society so hard hearted a creature I desired that the Lord make me sincere and upright before him to make way for me if he*

saw good. Afterward I found that my heart was set upon this world and it ate up all that I had heard and I forgot God After this the Lord showed me what a poor empty creature I was that could not speak one good word or think one good thought I could not stir up myself to take hold of God in duty yet God had stirred me up to seek him and told me that if I did not seek him his wrath would be on me.

After Mr Norton. *We beseech God be reconciled if a man came not to be reconciled to God he did nothing at all I thought then I had all my work yet to do for I had not been reconciled to God Hence I prayed daily to God to show me my need I thought if he would be pleased to save me from wrath and that was not all but to reconcile me to God and that he would make me according to his own heart this has been my prayer and my desire to see my need of him that I had done in some poor measure for my closing with him I knew not what to say I am in some measure fearful*

That gives me encouragement to me [sic] *God has bid poor creatures come to him and he would have mercy on them for his own name sake God helped me to seek him and answered me in some measure*

Mr Mitchel *on Genesis my spirit shall not always strive with man because he is but flesh. The godly did not allow themselves in their sins as he instanced in* some *the Lord will help me to see the rich and loath myself for my sin not to allow myself in any sin I desire he would discover to me more of my wretchedness that at least I might come to take hold of him and make peace with him indeed.*

What experience have you had of the enmity of your heart against God's law? I have found my heart cross to God and his rule because they have crossed some sins of mine that I have been loth to part with God hath particularly sometimes spoke to me of my own sin and I have been loth to part with it God help me to see that I [*was*] *under some iniquity which if ever God intended mercy to me he would make me willing to forget and to take him upon his terms which he had offered in his covenant I shall beset the Lord that no way of wicked might be found in me but that I might put away all the evils of my doings and make him my soul-satisfying portion and that continually. I am a poor ignorant creature that might have known more of him than I have done I have cause to take shame to myself I desire the people of God to help me* *Question.*

Have you ever seen a glory in and had a dear love to God's will. Seeing so much of God in his people at private meetings my heart had dearly loved the people of God. I have found my heart opposed to all that is good and that hath been my burden and a means to make me loathe myself the more. *Question.*

Has God never found your heart secretly unwilling to close with Christ on his own terms? Answer. *Yes God will not come to me that God might have life I see that the nub of all lay in my will If I were willing to come to Christ he were* Question.

willing freely to give himself I have said to my own heart dost thou desire that the Lord Jesus Christ may indeed be thine for thy self yet I found that I was loth I was loth [sic] *to part with some sin that hindered me. But since the Lord hath helped me to part with sin and to desire him to take them away. For of myself I could not leave them.*

This hath been the great stick in my own spirit a great while and I do not so far as I know my heart desire to come in without the people of God see encouragement.

Question. *What do you desire Christ for or come to him for?* Answer *If my heart deceiveth me not I come to him that he would save me from wrath reconcile me to God who by nature am an enemy to him I know without this I shall never have comfort at the great day I have thought of this my blood is the chief among* 10000 *I have asked my heart if there were nothing which I have more esteemed than Christ and I have of late found himself hath been most precious to me and therefore have I come to him*

Question. *By coming to him do you mean committing yourself to him resting upon this one thing that prizes a thing another thing to have it* Answer. *I think seeking to him is the way to have him.*

Question. *Do you never find a heart that can't prize Christ but had rather walk after the way of your own heart?* Answer. *Yes I have seen it many a time but I have considered that was the way to ruin both me and mine after me. I have searched to see whether I loved God's company or no and I have found indeed my opposition against it Yet I have found in some poor measure that God hath helped me to take delight in his will.*

Question. *When you find your heart dead what course do you take? Why I go to God in prayer and entreat him to take away that dead heart of mine.* Question. *Do you think it is in your power to obtain it? Answer Yes God* [five words undecipherable] *and that does much encourage me*

Joseph champney's relation [56]

Sometimes the Lord has visited me by some illness *and then I have resolved to seek and follow the Lord but after recovery I have soon forgot my former purposes*

After a while the Lord filled me with these words how the Lord would come in flaming fire to render vengeance upon all that know him not that obeyed not his covenant. And that eternity of time should come of misery upon all that know not the Lord Jesus. So that I see it come better to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season.

The Lord first discovered my sin in not honoring my father and mother first

[56] Joseph Champney, of Cambridge, was made a freeman in 1654, probably shortly after this relation. He died two years later.

Isaiah *The Lord complains of his people that he had brought them up but they rebelled against him I thought the Lord had done so to me but I had rebelled against him and had not known him The Lord showed me so much sin in me that I thought myself unworthy to breathe in his air or live upon his earth I thought it were better for me to die than to live here to dishonor God I thought better for me to make away with myself than to live here to dishonor God and grieve him as I had done but after that* Mr Wilson[57] *said the Lord took delight in those that sought him early Hence I thought if I sought after the Lord seeing I was but young it may be he would accept of me notwithstanding all. Then I followed after the Lord I thought it were better to forsake all and to seek after a part in God through Christ but when it came to parting with all my lust and ease and pleasure for Christ I thought it hard. But God brought to me this those that forsake father mother house or land for his sake shall have a* 1000 *fold. Hereby the Lord stirred up my heart to follow him and forsake all I still continued seeking after him and following on to know him I thought to have a part in the Lord Jesus was worth the whole world and more and God helping me to consider of my shortness of time here and of eternity to come. The more I sought the Lord the more he discovered sin Temptations grew stronger but I thought I had more need of Christ Jesus to be my savior. Temptations grew so strong that I was even resolved to give up myself to evil* ways *and forsake the Lord but then the Lord came and visited me with this that I had heard how that the Lord Jesus offers himself to those that can't save themselves or deliver themselves I thought it was exceeding precious and sweet to me that the Lord should please to come to me at such a time I thought it my blessing to give up my soul and all I had to Christ Jesus and to live here in the land of the living to praise him for his mercy that he had shown me and God encouraged me more by this how that those who follow on to know him shall yet know more of him. Yet I had more discovery of sin and temptations were exceeding strong against me Sometimes I question whether this were the way of the Lord yea or no Once the Lord brought to mind broad is the way that leads [to] destruction and narrow the way &c. And few that find it Now I thought this was a hard and narrow way and further the Lord's way and that which leads to everlasting life yet temptations were exceeding strong and much sin the Lord discovered I thought none so evil as I yet there was forgiveness which the Lord that he might be feared I thought I saw a great deal of God's mercy and goodness I was not able of myself to stand against these temptations that rose up against me Further I saw what need I have of the Lord Christ Jesus every moment I still followed after the Lord. Once the Lord withdrew himself from me and then I thought I was gone but he helped me to seek him that he who*

[57] John Wilson, the famous first minister of Boston, was educated at Cambridge and came to Boston in 1630 with the first great wave of settlers.

had been my father's God that he would save me from that wrath due to sin and from sin.

Mr D. *preached on those words how when the unclean spirit is gone out of a man he returns again* &c. *Hereby I was encouraged. But after when he preached on these words again I seeing my woeful state and condition by reason of sin I thought that the unclean spirit were entered into my heart I thought to go back there was no hope and further after the Lord I must go. My sad condition I yet never made* [*known*] *to any I was ashamed that any should know what a woeful deal of sin was in me at once I told my father of it and he wished me still to seek after the Lord for the Lord would not cast off a soul without he first cast off the Lord*

After this I thought that those temptations in a great measure vanished away but when the Lord let me have ease I began to forget the love that he had shown me and the Lord withdrew so that my heart in stead *of former softness grew harder and harder I did not taste such sweetness in God as before. After I heard one show that all pride was abomination to the Lord Now the Lord helped to see that I had been proud and conceited of what the Lord had done for me and thought that I would not forget the Lord and his mercy to me but after* Mr Mitchel *upon this return ye backsliding children and I will heal* &c. *The Lord helped me to consider how I had backslid from the Lord I thought to me the Lord called to return to him yet I thought I saw nothing in me that should move the Lord to turn to me but rather that he should forsake me seeing I had forsaken him yet the Lord helped me to follow after him yet again and I found the Lord returning in his ordinances as before therefore I did desire that I might yet enjoy more of his ordinances if it were his will*

My wives relation at maldon An. 1657. February 11.

The Lord was pleased to work upon my heart many fears and troubles by the word hearing that preached in the 7 of Matthew 15 every tree that bring not forth good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire It was noted that if the vinedresser prayer and God's patience prevail not with unfruitful trees they must be cut down also that these 3 years I came looking for fruit but found none cut it down &c. *The consideration how long I had been under the means of grace God's patience and vinedresser prayer and how many offers of Christ I had rejected not only 3 years but many years the Lord set it sadly upon my heart I thought I should be cut down for cumbering of the ground so* 7 Isaiah *beginning it brought forth wild fruit I say cut down the hedge and briars and thorns shall grow there and whereas there is in the same chapter seek and ye shall find that was some encouragement to me to seek though I thought my seeking was as good as nothing yet my desires were that God would show me my sin and show me mercy Hearing this*

passage thou hast desired mercy it may be thou art not fit for it I thought it spoke to me I had desired mercy though was not fit for it reading 3 Romans about 19 before there is none that do good they are together become unprofitable I thought myself one unprofitable that could do nothing that was good considering of that Ephraim 2.2. I thought I was a child of wrath by nature even as others Hearing this from Mister Cotton those that live under the means of grace unconverted are under greater condemnation than are others and that such as are without the favor of god *by covenant shall rise up in judgment against them one day I thereupon thought myself under greater condemnation than any others I had learn in my* Catechism *how doth Christ enlighten my soul first he convinceth my soul my soul* [sic] *it is in a wretched sinful miserable estate and that if he continue in that estate he is utterly accursed and notwithstanding he wounds my heart and fills it with terror because he knows not how soon this sentence shall be executed upon him This was set sadly upon my heart I thought I was under God's wrath and curse and this filled my heart full of terror because I knew not how to get out By this and such like things the Lord let me see myself utterly lost and undone without Jesus Christ under the wrath of God The Lord brought this to mind the Lord commended his love toward us that while we were evil Christ died for us. Also hearing this that this is a fearful saying that Jesus Christ comes into the world to save sinners of whom I am chief. This did much affect my heart to consider God's great love that he should admit of chief sinner's hearing that in public that while God continued the means of grace to me and me to them tis a sign he doth intend to some good I thought that while God's patience was continued to me* [*he*] *did intend me some good yet fearing myself to be still under the wrath of God and being much troubled the Lord pleased to bring to mind that in the first John 1 we have an advocate with the father even Jesus Christ also that in the 13 Zachariah thouph there is a fountain set open for sin and uncleanness the Lord was pleased much to refresh my heart with that place hoping that he spoke to me and going to a lecture upon the sabbath hearing this same text spoke to if there be any poor sinner sensible of God's wrath and his* own misery *though thy sins be never so great Christ calls thee to come* heart *to* [three words undecipherable] *The Lord was pleased much to refresh my heart so that I took myself spoke to in it. Hearing also this passage if there be any under the wrath of God yet if they can look up to him with an eye of faith he will accept the look of a poor creature toward him. This did much refresh my heart for I thought I found some poor desire toward him. Also hearing that in Joshua ye have backslidden from me yet return and I will have mercy I thought the Lord called me to return to him though I had backslid by my sins also when I considered of God's patience and goodness to me that he continued me yet finding an unbelieving heart much prevailing I heard of that he that believes not is condemned already I went sadly to my heart for*

some time yet the Lord was pleased by the word to speak to me by that revelations whosoever will let him come and drink of the waters of life freely hearing this also if thou fail but can't come yet come to him that he may draw thee this was encouragement to me in that particular because I found I wanted help to come to him

Where tis said in Genesis I will be a God to Abraham and to his seed this did much encourage me in that he had been the God of my father's and I desired to believe that he would be so to me.

I desire prayer that God would give me more and more rootedness and groundedness in believing.

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NOTE

Places are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated.
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